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# **East Europe**

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# East Europe

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Serious Ecological Problems Admitted

24000065 Prague TVORBA in Czech 10 Feb 88 pp 1,3

[Interview with Rudolf Hegenbart, vice chairman of the CSR Government, chairman of the Czech Commission for R&D and Investment Development, and chairman of the Council on the Environment of the CSR Government: "There are No Proven Solutions"]

[Excerpts] [Question] What do you consider to be our most serious ecological problems?

[Answer] Localized instances of damage to the environment became evident as far back as the turn of the century. In the first half of this century our industry developed and our population shifted from the countryside to the cities. This was a haphazard process, with little account taken of environmental impact. Environmental damage has been increasing continually in the CSSR since the early 1960s. We had insufficient experience and knowledge of the complexity of the processes that support life. Not enough information was available concerning mutual ties between individual components of the environment. Moreover, environmental problems have also been underestimated at all levels of economic and social development.

In the CSR the greatest problems have arisen in areas with mineral mining operations, thermal electric power plants, concentrations of industry, and population centers. In the SSR these problems have tended to arise in smaller areas, especially in isolated valleys near industrial facilities.

These problems have often culminated in a very critical situation in terms of air and water quality, damaged soil, and the dying off of forests. Serious environmental pollution is capable of retarding socio-economic development. Some 32 percent of the Czechoslovak population lives in areas with serious environmental damage. This number is far in excess of any other country.

[Question] The basic objective of all measures taken to date is to return the environment to its condition in the late 1960s and early 1970s by the year 2000. It is also common knowledge that our country has budgeted some Kcs 18 billion for dealing with ecological problems in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. This amount is expected to double in the next 5-Year Plan. How do things look after the first two years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan?

[Answer] Not as well as we would like. There have been positive developments, but we are still not meeting our goals for dealing more effectively with these problems. Currently we are devoting most of our attention to ecologically related construction projects. Society has allocated twice as many financial resources for these projects in the current 5-year plan as in the previous 5-year plan. Plans include work to complete projects that

were noncompleted at the end of the Seventh 5-Year Plan as well as new projects to be started in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. We should complete some of these by 1990. Let me cite some figures from central agencies of the CSR Government. The plan set a target for work completed and deliveries on specific projects for the first two years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan at Kcs 2.1 billion. The actual figure would be up at Kcs 1.8 billion. Contracts in place for the remaining years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan will allow us to meet only 87 percent of the plan target of Kcs 9 billion of work completed.

[Question] Why has this happened?

[Answer] We continue to experience difficulties in capital construction that result in delays in completing ecologically related projects that are already under way. Only in exceptional cases have we been able to get ahead of schedule on projects already in progress. There have also been problems with investor preparation. We are currently working with the appropriate central agencies to help them formulate their plans for the Ninth 5-Year Plan right now.

[Question] What are you doing about the current shortcomings?

[Answer] The CSSR and CSR Governments informed central investors that by 25 February of each year they will have to submit a status report on preparations for an implementation of capital construction projects related to specific parts of the state program of ecological investments. These reports will have to include recommendations for dealing with any problems that are causing delays. These reports will provide us with the necessary information to direct future activities, particularly with regard to dealing with any supply problems holding back these construction projects.

If my information is correct, a similar situation exists in ecological construction projects under the control of central investors and managed by federal agencies. Delays in the starting date of new investment projects related to desulfurization at selected power plants are especially problematic.

[Question] Legal experts note, on the one hand, the absence of a single law codifying issues of environmental protection. On the other hand, they point out that there is already an adequate legal code, dispersed among separate laws, decrees, and resolutions. In their view, a more serious problem than any lack of legislative comprehensiveness in this area is the failure to comply with existing regulations, and in some cases openly to violate them. Can we expect any changes in this regard, such as the introduction of truly strict enforcement of existing laws?

[Answer] We have already implemented new procedures for enforcing legal responsibilities related to environmental protection. An example is in the area of waivers

related to waste water discharge, which the CSR Government had reevaluated. Strict enforcement of environmental laws is the only way to deal with our heritage of extensive economic development, to overcome its inertia, and to achieve a fundamental turnaround in this area. This will not be an easy task for many firms, but there are no alternatives. We are trying to establish a precedent under which violations of laws protecting individual aspects of the environment will be judged also as crimes threatening the public welfare, and thereby subject to the provisions of the criminal code.

[Question] To what extent would you agree with the assertion of Dr Ch. Onze of Austria that our country could afford to do more than it is currently doing to deal with environmental problems.

[Answer] The main area where we could do more is in changing our attitudes. We need to start to think ecologically. This is not merely a question of public information or propaganda. It is part of a comprehensive approach to the creation of new economic social, and legal conditions to support propaganda, public information, and organizational activities. We could be doing more in some areas. Currently the low efficiency of mechanisms of environmental protection has been criticized. The critical task, however, is to integrate fully issues of environmental protection and enhancement into the overall capital replacement process. We are currently formulating new concepts for the mechanisms of environmental protection. Our objective is to create a situation in which polluters will find it not only advantageous economically, but also absolutely essential to make use of environmentally safe technology. We are trying to make it economically more advantageous to build and operate environmentally safe equipment than to pay fines, surcharges, or penalties for polluting the environment.

[Question] Fears have been expressed that restructuring our economic mechanism will eventually work to the disadvantage of ecology.

[Answer] I find it easy to refute fears that a restructured economic mechanism would enable cost accounting and cooperative entities to pursue exclusively their own interests and goals, to the detriment of the public interest and environmental concerns.

The economic incentives related to air, soil, and water quality will be structured so that standard transfer payments related to the environment will force the cost accounting sphere to pay more attention to the environment. It must be economically more advantageous for enterprises and cooperatives to build waste water treatment plants, air quality monitoring equipment, and other environmental protection facilities than to continue to pay high fines and assessments for environmental pollution.

For instance, we can no longer allow an enterprise to discharge polluted waste water simply because it is less expensive to do so in terms of fines and penalties than to build an on-site waste water treatment facility.

This will also do away with the excuse that there are insufficient construction or equipment resources available, because it now will be in the interest of the enterprise to find them.

[Question] Will restructuring our economic mechanism open up much greater opportunities for international cooperation in solving environmental problems?

[Answer] To put it most concisely, I would say that there will be more opportunities. Let me elaborate a little. The restructuring of the economic mechanism will extend to all areas of economic and public life. This, of course, includes the environment. We have finally gotten around to evaluating the status of the environment, and to calling a spade a spade. We are eliminating what until recently were frequent, expert, yet incomprehensible explanations of objective reasons and difficulties for the continual postponement of specific solutions to environmental problems. Restructuring also involves, however, R&D, investment policy, capital construction plans, and foreign economic relations. The Seventh CPCZ CC Plenum discussed the necessity of fundamental changes and new attitudes. For instance, we can no longer treat the domestic R&D base as our sole source of R&D progress, but must rather focus on the entire creative R&D potential of the national economy. This would open up additional sources of R&D progress. We are no longer dealing merely with the importing of effective equipment, the extent and quality of our involvement in the international division of labor, the exploitation of R&D information, license procurement, etc. We must also factor into our thinking the integration of R&D projects in capital construction plans, assigning it an integral role in the modernization of our production base.

Of course, in the initial stages of restructuring we will have to respect all the objective realities of our foreign economic relations that might place limitations on opportunities to implement primarily economic techniques. In particular, a priority in our trade with non-socialist countries will be to achieve and maintain foreign currency equilibrium in order to counter an ongoing situation in which we will not be able to overcome huge differences between the demand for foreign currencies and our ability to meet these demands.

Here is a specific example. At the end of last year an initiative by CSR Government agencies led to a series of important discussions with representatives of industrial and financial circles from North Rhine-Westphalia. These discussions covered cooperation in the manufacture and shipping of equipment to reduce sulfur oxide emissions at our mainly large power generation facilities.

Our public is well aware that West German industries have mastered this technology, and that it is, therefore, effective and sensible for us to take advantage of their capability to resolve this problem in the CSSR. We expect in the near future to begin final negotiations aimed at signing cooperative production agreements between Czechoslovak and West German firms. We also want to take advantage of the expertise of Hungarian, Polish, East German, and Soviet firms in the area of environmental protection equipment.

[Question] What is the relationship between the Czech Commission on R&D and Investment Development, economic agencies, and enterprises in resolving questions of environmental protection?

[Answer] Let me first describe the role of the Czech Commission for R&D and Investment Development [CKVTIR]. It is a central agency of the CSR state administration, charged with administering R&D and investment development, territorial planning, and construction regulations. The basic task of the CKVTIR is to cooperate, within the context of a uniform state economic and technical policy, in the formation and upgrading of strategy for a uniform state R&D policy, state capital investment policy, and a comprehensive housing construction policy. The CKVTIR is also charged with the consistent administration of state regulations related to territorial planning and construction codes, and with coordinating the development of socialist architecture and urbanization. The CKVTIR provides input into our strategy for international cooperation, and helps to formulate the national strategy for environmental protection and enhancement. Finally, the CKVTIR helps analyze major shortcomings in state technical development plan fulfillment and their reasons, and evaluates selected capital investment project reports. We also participate in the formulation of incentive programs to develop the creative initiatives of employees related to technical and investment development.

In the area of environmental protection, we formulate the underlying objectives of the national strategy for environmental protection and enhancement. Within our area of authority we direct the implementation of environmental protection measures related to R&D and investment development, territorial planning and construction codes, and detailed construction documents. We are also responsible for the material aspects of research work. We have no direct relationship to either enterprises of economic organizations.

[Question] In your opinion, what will be more difficult in the near future, changing attitudes (especially of senior managers), or implementing technical changes?

[Answer] There is no clear answer to this question. Generally speaking, it would be very difficult to find anyone who would deny the importance and necessity of environmental protection and enhancement. At the

same time, people do not act in accordance with this belief. Why? The reasons are more than personal. One should search for them rather in the conditions under which these people live, in the pressures that they face every day, in their efforts to meet specific goals that involve a conflict between economic interests and objectives, and ecological requirements. To date we have been dealing with this ecological component by postponing it on the grounds that we will deal with it eventually. This "eventually" is today costing us a pretty penny, a lot of effort, and is forcing us to deal with very complex problems. I am convinced that we will learn our lesson from this. Everyone understands by now that it is much less expensive to allocate the resources for prevention of ecological problems than to correct the problems once they exist.

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### **High Incidence of Cardiovascular Disease Affects Longevity**

24000062b Prague *LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE* in Czech  
10 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by Helena Bastlova: "A Half Million At Risk"]

[Excerpts] One reason that we have been unable to increase the average age of our population, which remains at 1960s levels, is that we have not succeeded in reducing the incidence of cardiovascular disease. This is why the Ministry of Health considers the fight against these diseases one of its primary tasks. The Ministry has announced a number of preventive programs, including one against smoking and against obesity because it is known that these harmful factors play an important role in the onset of diseases of the heart and circulatory system.

What is less well known is that a hereditary metabolic disease, hyperlipoproteinemia also plays a decisive role in these diseases. Josef Sobra, M.D., candidate for doctor of science, who works at internal medicine clinic No III of the medical faculty of Charles University in Prague (headed by Prof Vladimir Pacovsky, M.D., doctor of science, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science (CSAV) has been studying these serious deficiencies for almost 30 years. We asked Dr Sobra the following questions:

[Question] What is the incidence of this deficiency in the general population, and what causes it?

[Answer] To date, we have not performed any representative population studies in the CSR. Based on findings from other countries, however, we can estimate that about 5 percent of the population is affected, regardless of age or sex. Hyperlipoproteinemia exists in more than 50 percent of all people who experience an acute myocardial heart attack before the age of 50. Although we have identified several types of hypolipoproteinemia the most common type is hereditary.

[Question] If hypolipoproteinemia is hereditary, that implies that it must occur in the population after several generations. How do you explain the fact, then, that recently young people have been dying of myocardial heart attacks, whereas previously older generations were almost exclusively affected?

[Answer] As is the case with diabetes, most types of hypolipoproteinemia occur when negative factors from the external environment are added to the primary hereditary defect. These external factors include smoking, alcoholism, and, primarily, poor diet. It appears that increased mortality due to heart and circulatory diseases is a price that we are paying for our increased standard of living. Overeating, especially of high calorie foods, and the resultant obesity are factors that we did not have to reckon with 50 years ago. When they did occur, their incidence was negligible.

[Question] From the numbers you have provided I estimate that in the CSR alone some half million people have this defect. This number equals the number of diabetics. We have some 300 diabetes consultation centers for our diabetics. What are we doing for our "hypolipoproteinemias?"

[Answer] If what you have in mind are clinics such as we have for diabetics, we do not have anything similar as yet. The situation is complicated by the fact that local and factory doctors are well aware of the implications of increased blood sugar levels, so they refer patients with these symptoms immediately for further expert diagnosis. If such a physician discovers an increased cholesterol level in the blood he or she is most likely either to overlook it entirely, or to discount it, and not to recommend any further treatment to the patient. If we wanted to set up similar consultation centers, we would first have to train our doctors to unify their diagnostic and referral procedures.

[Question] The foregoing implies that if we determine that a child has a certain type of hyperlipoproteinemia and begin to treat it in time, they would have a reduced chance of experiencing a myocardial heart attack when grown up, or other related illnesses. Wouldn't it make sense to test the entire child population, the same way we test for other metabolic disorders, such as phenylketonuria?

[Answer] The optimal situation is to begin preventive treatment in childhood, because that is when lifestyle habits develop. It has been shown that people who are trained to observe a certain diet in childhood are able to maintain this diet throughout their lives. It would be difficult to test the entire child population, however, because there are no simple conclusive tests like the ones that exist for phenylketonuria (where you can diagnose the disease with a drop of blood or urine and some filter paper). Currently we are identifying children at high risk for contraction of hypolipoproteinemia by studying entire families. This program is in place only at a couple

of sites, so we are hard pressed to evaluate everyone. Once the number of test centers increases, we will have a real chance of increasing the life expectancy of the 500,000 people at risk.

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#### **Aspects of Rising Criminality Examined** *24000080 Prague TVORBA in Czech 3 Feb 88 pp 6-7*

[Article by Jiri Mekota: "Law is not Omnipotent"]

[Text] Is it possible to reduce criminal and other antisocial behavior? This was a question which I asked myself at a recent press conference, where the Prosecutor General Jan Fejes observed that in comparison with other countries we have far too many convicted offenders. The editors of TVORBA invited several renowned experts and asked them some questions relating to consciousness and law, law and morality, and the prospects for reducing criminal or other antisocial behavior. Participating in the round table were: Dr Jiri Balzer, chief of the criminal review section of the Ministry of Justice, Dr Bohumil Hucik, chief of the internal affairs department of the Central Bohemian Regional National Committee, Dr Milos Jestrab, deputy chief justice of the CSR Supreme Court, representative Dr Frantisek Kubat of the Czech National Council, the Prague town prosecutor, representative Prof Josef Mecl of the Czech National Council, dean of the Law School, and Major Jaroslav Vojtisek, chief of the criminal justice section of the Ministry of the Interior.

[Question] Why are there so many convicted offenders in this country? What do you see as the cause of that?

[Mecl] If we are to answer this question from the legal point of view, then we have to keep in mind several facts: the fact that these acts were committed, that these are antisocial acts prohibited by law, and thus that there are offenders here who committed a criminal act.

[Jestrab] A number of factors contribute to such acts being committed, among others the ideas people have about what is permissible and what is not, what, although not allowed, is done anyway, all that we refer to as being cognizant of the law.

[Question] But we have many recidivists. And as a rule they were taught a very objective lesson about what is permissible and what is not....

[Kubat] I think that one of the reasons for that is the fact that the execution of the punishment does not entirely fulfill its function as determined by law. What is needed, above all, is a greater differentiation of the educational process during the course of the sentence. To this end, we are already drafting legislative modifications of the law concerning punishment by the deprivation of liberty. Another weak point, as I see it, is the follow-up after

sentence is completed, that is, the rehabilitation of the offender at the time when he leaves prison and returns to civilian life. Much effort will still be needed before this system is fully worked out.

[Mec] The statement of the prosecutor general concerning the large number of convicted offenders stems from the fact that antisocial acts are being judged solely according to the provisions of the criminal law and are prosecuted in criminal court. It seems to me that there are antisocial acts which do not need the most severe treatment, that is, the use of the penal code.

[Balzer] The current legal norm is such that the courts also have to deal with matters which they should not have to deal with. Even a person charged with a petty offence against property in the amount of Kcs 200 finds himself in court. Such an offence could be dealt with by administrative action and a fine by a national committee.

[Hucik] We are counting on that in drafting the revisions of the penal code, but according to the current legal rules the absolute majority of cases are violations of the criminal law, that is, misdemeanors and felonies.

[Mec] Now we come to the question of how to reduce criminal prosecution and how to use other ways of punishing antisocial acts. That means, how to use the possibilities available in the national committees or how to broaden their scope, how to use the labor code and dispose of some cases with the help of the work collectives. To my thinking, the main thrust should be toward emphasizing restitution and expropriation of benefits or possessions which were gained through antisocial activity.

[Balzer] The planned revision of the penal and legal rules assumes that some of the misdemeanors, which until now have been dealt with by the courts, will be transferred to administrative proceedings before national committees, employers' disciplinary agencies, transportation inspectorates, and customs agencies. Considering the fact that courts in the Czech lands process as many as 25,000 cases each year, we expect a reduction to 5,000 cases which would continue to be classified as felonies.

[Jestrab] That would help to increase the speed and quality of court proceedings and to make the struggle against recidivism more effective.

[Question] For the most part the public, even people with legal education, is of the opinion that leniency of punishment is the cause of criminality. What you are saying is totally at odds with this public opinion. Even some of my colleagues are convinced that increased penal sanctions would result in the reduction of crime.

[Mec] We have a very strict penal policy.

[Hucik] It is not so much the severity of the punishment that is important, but its inevitability.

[Balzer] The entire history of the judicial system shows that even drastic punishment does not lead to a reduction of criminality. Increased or harsher punishment has never achieved the desired goal.

[Vojtisek] No perpetrator of a criminal act ever expects to be punished. He never starts out with the idea that he will be caught at it or apprehended. Thus, from that point of view, the strictness of the punishment does not play a role. If he would only admit to himself that he might be discovered and given even the least of punishments, then he will not commit the act. There are, of course, cases when a person commits a crime in a state of excitement, kills a person, for example, and then goes to report it, but those are exceptions. The struggle against criminality cannot be thought of as merely increasing the degree of punishment for criminal acts.

[Mec] Every punishment has a multiple function. It should re-educate the offender, isolate him from society, deter him from continuing in his criminal activities, and take away his unjustly gained material benefits. We should see to it that these functions are carried out in practice. The fact that we are not successful at it is not just our problem. Everywhere in the world it is admitted that the rehabilitation function of punishment by deprivation of liberty is not succeeding.

[Jestrab] Having said all that, however, it is true that the law contains some not very logical relationships among the penal rates. For example, the most serious criminal act of stealing property in the socialist domain is punishable according to Article 4, Paragraph 132 of the Penal Code by imprisonment of 8 to 15 years, and the crime of murder 10 to 15 years. I expect that the revision of the penal code will rectify this inconsistency. But in spite of these facts, I am convinced that the current penal policy of our courts is consistent with the incidence of crime and answers the needs of protecting the public. We direct the courts to differentiate and individualize punishment, and not to radically increase or decrease the severity of the sentences in toto.

[Mec] It must be kept in mind that punishment by deprivation of liberty is an enormous intrusion into the life of a citizen, his psyche, mentality, family relationships, and the normal course of his life.

[Jestrab] The implementation of penal policy in this country is not, in my judgment, burdened by liberalism. There are those who think that too little punishment is being imposed. Sometimes the press contributes to this, when in a brief news item it is reported that a recidivist, with a record of 5 convictions, was sentenced to a prison term of such or such number of months. And there is no mention of why he is being punished or what is the nature of his recidivism. It can happen, after all, that even a recidivist commits a criminal act of a less serious



nature. For example, he steals an article worth several hundred korunas. Even though he is a many times repeat offender, he cannot be given a heaven knows how severe a sentence.

[Mecl] Sometimes propaganda uses such term as "implacability." That is a very strong word, but it has its limitations. Even though we have to be implacable toward antisocial acts such as assault on health, life, and socialist property, we have to keep in mind that the perpetrators of those acts will continue to live in our society after they have served their sentence. All that "implacability" notwithstanding, we have to give them a realistic chance to return to their job, to society, family, and life.

[Kubat] Sometimes people think that sentences are too lenient because the punishment does not compensate for the damage done by the offender. If a burglar enters an apartment and steals things to which the citizen has a sentimental attachment, the owner, it is true, can receive monetary compensation, but money will not compensate him for the loss. Or if someone through negligence causes harm to another's health or his death, no amount of punishment will make up for it. In this lies the limitation of the law and the courts: punishment cannot become the compensation for the wrong that was done, and the feeling of "justice not being done" can remain. The offender is punished, to be sure, but the survivors may be left with the perception that his punishment was disproportionately inadequate.

[Jestrab] You know, being in prison for 5 or 6 years is no small matter. Imagine what it means for a person from the social, health, and family point of view.

[Balzer] I think that the opinion that sentencing here is too lenient stems from an inadequate understanding of the law on the part of the public. It is, after all, evident in the statistics: Since 1972 the share of unconditional prison sentences has not changed. That means that there has been no relaxation or hardening of punitive measures even though the perception prevails that the courts are becoming ever more liberal.

[Jestrab] On the contrary. If we make a comparison with the period at the beginning of the 1960's, we find that punishment became more severe at the beginning of the 1970's, and the prosecution of repeat offenders in particular increased. Those offenders are given prison sentences in 96 percent of the cases. And that is a high percentage.

[Vojtisek] In the last few years, a new phenomenon appeared in breaking and entering. When we analyzed the situation, we found that in burglaries of socialist enterprises there has been an increase in amateurish methods of breaking in.

[Hucik] They use a pick-axe they find lying about to force open the gate or break a window with a piece of iron.

[Vojtisek] On the other hand, burglaries of apartments are planned with great professionalism. They are tipped off which apartments are likely to contain goods, they have guaranteed fences, they are in contact with specialists in the making of keys and instruments. Recently we took into custody a group of offenders who caused losses of Kcs 2 1/2 million. In view of all this we proposed that sentences for breaking into private residences be made more severe.

[Question] What do you think are the causes of those changes?

[Jestrab] We need to keep in mind that during the time when the currently valid penal code was being drafted—it has been in force since 1 January 1962—burglaries of apartments were not a problem for society. There were no expensive luxury goods in the apartments, burglars were not organized, the risk of apprehension was greater. To break into an apartment did not pay in those days, and the number of apartment burglaries was substantially lower. I concur therefore with the opinion that it would be correct to increase the penal rate for stealing personal property and make it approximate more closely the penal rate for stealing property in socialist ownership.

[Vojtisek] The change has come about also because certain measures were instituted for the protection of socialist property so that it is protected the way it should be. Obviously, we cannot make a fortress out of every pub, but on the other hand, why not admit it: what would the burglar find if he were to break in? Some alcohol, some cigarettes, and some change in the drawer. And what about other enterprises? Opening a safe does take some doing, after all.

[Hucik] Only, of course, if the keys to it are not left lying on the table. But what you have said does not apply everywhere. Look, for example, at construction, where building materials lie around unguarded building sites. It is the same in some machine tool enterprises or in services. Whoever needs something, carries it away. And such things are reflected in consumption. The collective in such an enterprise is not penalized, even though the production budget keeps increasing.

[Kubat] The most effective means of dealing with these negative phenomena is to organize the economy of the enterprise in such a way that violations of law would work against the interests of the collective and any wasteful practices within the enterprise would become the subject for action by the work collective. The interest factor must be present. In such cases the labor code or the penal code can be a help in the fight against negative phenomena, but they cannot solve things by themselves.

[Jestrab] Even the reporting duties are not being fulfilled. That is because the manager is not interested in discovering criminal activities, on the contrary, he is glad that the enterprise has a "good name" in that respect, meaning that criminal activities are not being investigated in "his place."

[Mecl] Not so long ago, with much fanfare, we established in our society the institution of the so-called key controllers. I am saying openly that this institution has not made any great impact. The shortcomings of the internal control stems from the deformation of the economy—something gets lost, something is stolen, and it is not missed anywhere. A direct economic impact is missing here.

[Question] Lately there have appeared requests to have it established by law that a person who owns certain property be obliged to prove that he acquired it by legitimate means. Would this contribute to a reduction of crimes against property?

[Hucik] For our society, that would not be the way to deter crime. And it is in contradiction to our legal code, which says that it is not up to you to prove your innocence.

[Mecl] That would amount to an attempt to compensate for the shortcomings in the protection of the economy and its documentation by the penal code.

[Balzer] A legal loophole has developed in the taxation policy. As a consequence of the new measures in trade and small-scale production there could be a considerable loss in tax revenues and instances of unwarranted profits. I am not convinced, however, that it would be correct to compensate for the shortcomings in the management of state administration and state economy by amending the penal code.

[Vojtisek] If a citizen whose salary is Kcs 1,800 a month builds a house costing a million, then Security, prosecution, or the courts have to prove that he has committed a property crime. It is not the duty of a citizen to prove his innocence. But I can tell you now that you will not prove anything anyway. He will present documentation for everything. He paid for everything properly. And how will you prove that he gained the money by dishonest means? His statement that he borrowed the money is sufficient. Such a law could be circumvented easily.

[Kubat] A building or a house can be seen, but most of the dishonestly gained possessions cannot. Just for that reason such a law would be ineffective and therefore unnecessary.

[Balzer] We studied this approach in countries where they have laws of this kind, where a citizen must prove how he obtained his possessions. We found that their results were negligible, that the law did not meet the expectations of the lawgivers.

[Question] All the questions and problems which we discussed concern awareness of the law. What, according to your opinion, is the standard of teaching about law and the understanding of it?

[Kubat] During the past 15 years, observance of the law has not increased much. Even now we are not succeeding in raising the level of crime deterrence. In spite of all the resolutions which were adopted, the coordination and control of preventive measures were restricted to agencies which administer the criminal justice system. And that is not enough. Other departments as well as social organizations of the National Front are not involved. Social organizations and socialist agencies do not avail themselves of the opportunities afforded them by the penal code: to use the possibility to offer guarantees, to participate in proceedings as public defender or public prosecutor. The agencies which administer criminal justice invite social organizations to engage in such activities, but without any visible effect.

[Mecl] The prevention of crime has many forms. One of them is providing information about law. The flaw in that is the fact that it is aimed at those citizens who do not need it, who do not come into conflict with the law. Another, and currently important, form of prevention is to have order in public affairs and in the economy. We already talked about that: shortcomings in economic activity create conditions conducive to criminal activity. If there are shortcomings in warehousing management, much is destroyed or lost. If there are shortcomings in the management of foreign exchange, it creates conditions conducive to illegal exchanges of foreign currencies.

[Jestrab] Cognizance of the law lags behind the needs of society. For example, some people have the idea that theft of private property is much more dangerous than theft of public property. It is precisely an insufficient cognizance of the law that gave rise to the monstrous saying: who does not steal, robs his family. But when those people become the victims, when somebody steals something from them, their thinking quickly changes. We are witnessing the fact that with some people observance of the law is somehow disjointed: where it suits them, they are not disposed to observe the law. But if they are the victims, they vehemently demand their legal rights.

[Vojtisek] As far as Public Security is concerned, their deterrent activity can develop only at the moment when they begin to investigate a criminal act. Concurrently with the investigation they probe the conditions which enabled the criminal act to take place or which led to it. On the basis of their investigations of all kinds of criminal acts, they submit their suggestions and advice to other agencies. Unfortunately, I must say that there are some economic organizations which do not stand ready to undertake the fulfillment of their obligations to protect socialist property.

[Jestrab] It appears that some managers assume an authority that does not belong to them. They deal with criminal acts or misdemeanors, which they should report, on their own according to the labor code—if they deal with them at all.

[Vojtisek] We find that the overwhelming number of crimes against property is discovered by Security agencies, not by enterprise agencies who are much closer to such criminal activity. The enterprise control agencies do not carry out their function in this respect. That is the main reason why criminal activity goes on for a relatively long time, why it is not discovered sooner. And because it is not discovered in time, the amount of damage increases and so does the punishment of the offender.

conomic crime. We can see that not only the current legal standards, but also the current moral standards, are not adhered to.

[Jestrab] Teaching about law should be started earlier than is generally thought. When we realize that those committing criminal acts are subject to criminal prosecution from the age of 15 on, then I think that every young person by the time he reaches that age should be taught in grade school what that means. In the teaching of civics the teaching about law is concentrated primarily on knowledge of the constitution. That is commendable and necessary, but insufficient.

[Balzer] The haphazard nature of this form of teaching about law is where I see the most danger. Some schools invite people from justice, prosecution, or Public Security for round table talks, but those are exceptions. Only a minute portion of 14-year-olds have any understanding of what criminality is and how dangerous it is.

[Vojtisek] Information about law and prevention of crime is done only haphazardly, and mostly in general terms. When you analyze crime, you can see that its causes are varied. Criminal activity concerning foreign exchange is one thing, crime against property another. Information about law should be as specific as possible.

[Hucik] The school should lay the foundation for all knowledge, therefore knowledge of law as well. Of course, teaching about law is not just the responsibility of the school, but of all society.

[Mecl] I would not restrict teaching about law only to crime prevention. Teaching about law should mold the person as a citizen. We need to realize that criminality concerns only a small segment of our society. However, each person is endowed with rights and has social responsibilities. That does not apply only to criminal law, but also to civil law, family and other laws and rights, which are a part of the consciousness and knowledge of a citizen—member of a socialist state.

[Question] One last question. Law is inextricably linked to morality. How would you characterize this interrelationship?

[Kubat] We must realize that in this union morality is the stronger of the partners, that law represents the minimum of morality. That does not mean law is immoral, but expresses the possibilities law has. Let us look at what law can and cannot do. Law, through courts, can ensure that parents provide material and financial support for their children. But law cannot ensure that they bring them up well, with love and understanding, that they give them their best effort and devote time to them. Law can ensure only those things which society holds to be essential. The law cannot ensure the entire many-colored spectrum and multiple aspects of life.

[Mecl] The law can protect only those most basic human relationships whose violation is also the violation of moral relationships. There is an inter-linkage here. After all, respect for the law is also an expression of the morality of the individual. Law expresses the moral minimum, but a society which would seek only adherence to law would be a poor one. Without morality law cannot function effectively.

[Jestrab] The more the observance of legal rules becomes matter-of-course and universal, the more the quality of public morality will increase. And also the other way around. If we place emphasis in education on observing moral norms from childhood, we shall achieve that the morally educated person will come into conflict with the law only rarely and will be more likely to eschew criminality.

12605

## POLAND

### Industry Minister Briefed on Zarnowiec Nuclear Plant

26000249a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
26 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] Minister of Industry Jerzy Bilip reviewed the status of construction work at the first nuclear power plant in Poland, at Zarnowiec in the vicinity of Gdansk.

The issue of setting aside in the Central Annual Plan a hard currency fund needed to buy special equipment and the necessity for domestic suppliers to comply with delivery deadlines were discussed at a meeting with the management of the power plant and subcontractors.

It was acknowledged that beginning the second stage of construction at the Zarnowiec power plant, i.e., building foundations for two more 465 MW power units (out of the total of four) will be possible this year, as envisaged by the plan, provided that the necessary formalities are taken care of very soon.

9761

**Internal Affairs Ministry on Crime, 'Pathology'  
State**

26000249b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
26 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] In carrying out the government program of preventing and combatting crime and social deviance last year, the increased emphasis was on eliminating not only the negative consequences of such phenomena, but also their causes. Cooperation of law enforcement organs was more effective, and law-and-order undertakings yielded perceptible results, stated Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Gen Div Lucjan Czubinski at a press conference. He also said that in 1987 the order in public places further improved, no mass violations of law were registered and law and order on the railways were ensured with better results. Last year, a total of 400,000 legal actions were initiated, i.e., 6,000 more than in the previous year. However, in January 1988 the number of reported crimes increased by as much as 14 percent compared to the same period last year.

As Commander-in-Chief of the MO [Citizens' Militia] Gen Bde Zenon Trzcinski stated, recently the number of crimes against the life and well-being of citizens has dropped markedly. Among other things, there were 17.5 percent fewer fights and batteries last year compared to 1986. The number of rapes dropped by 17 percent, and of bodily injuries—by 12.5 percent. At the same time, the danger posed by crimes against property increased; last year, there were 4 percent more cases of robbery and forcible extortion; the number of burglaries and theft, primarily at private apartments, grew.

Also, measures aimed at more rational and efficient use of phones and staff cars were reviewed. It turned out that 3,500 cars and 6,000 phones could be given up without affecting the operation of many offices and institutions.

9761

**Culture Under Secretary on Careers, Dissident  
Advantages, Culture**

26000272b PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish  
No 13, 27 Mar 88 p 8

[Interview with Kazimierz Clapka, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Culture and Art, by Piotr Kuncewicz: "Noble Pillar of Order"]

[Text][Question] By being an administrator in Poland, do you advance your career or do you engage in politics?

[Answer] One goes together with the other, and not only in our country. Anybody who gives you a different answer is simply lying. In all of that, career should not be reduced to the financial dimension alone. What it

amounts to is the opportunity to make decisions concerning something. A career is worthless if it does not serve others, does not give them help. You derive satisfaction from a job well done, not from "administering" things.

[Question] Don't they derive it from harming others?

[Answer] This happens, but it is rather a result of the lack of genuine success. In general, this is a shortsighted activity.

[Question] All of that is fine, but how much money do you make?

[Answer] Seventy thousand.

[Question] What about a villa, a cottage and a car?

[Answer] Really, I have none of these.

[Question] I don't know whether this reflects well... but let us go back to an administrative career. How do you further it in Poland?

[Answer] I believe the same way you do it the world over. You have to do as much as possible for others. You have to be able to have friends.

[Question] We are touching here on a delicate issue which in our country is viewed negatively. Friends of a decisionmaker conjure up the use of pull and a mafia.

[Answer] The reason perhaps is that in our country this is somehow unclear and hidden—God knows why. Meanwhile, politicians the world over and, as a matter of fact, at all times have prided themselves on having as many friends as possible. After all, having friends means to be able to win their confidence and to select proper people. This means proving yourself in someone else's eyes. Henry Ford wrote a well-known book on this subject. In our country, having friends is viewed as if it were a crime.

[Question] Does being a party member help one's career?

[Answer] And why shouldn't it? After all, you work for that party or political group, prove yourself in its eyes and rightfully expect its confidence.

[Question] What about the infamous nomenclature?

[Answer] Distribution of positions is used the world over in coalition arrangements. However, at present the nomenclature has a different content and different principles, the practice of competitive filling of certain vacancies, to mention just one.

[Question] We are having this conversation in a delicate situation where bureaucracy and officials are sharply criticized or altogether embattled. Under these circumstances, does an administrative career make any sense at present?

[Answer] It does and it will in the future. However, work in administration should be restricted to genuine and significant causes, the ones that serve the populace and make its everyday life easier. I am talking here about the style of work by administration, the style which will make this work attractive and useful. Tadeusz Breza wrote very interesting things about the outstanding administrative efficiency of the Vatican.

[Question] I read a description of work done by a chairman of some huge corporation. It turned out that in a year he makes decisions on only 10 to 12 issues, but these are the key ones, and he is superbly prepared for them.

[Answer] The "decisionmaker" has very trustworthy employees. He can rely on them for anything. I wonder whether the relentless critics of administration and officialdom would like to live in a society not managed by anyone? Meanwhile, the never-ending criticism of administration and offices has two sides to it. It not only serves to improve the functioning of the administration, but it is also damaging. We can argue about the degree to which it is helpful or damaging. I am in favor of vigorously combatting what is bad about administrative operations, as long as you name names. After all, if something is wrong, it has been caused by a particular person, a particular official rather than the entire office, department or its section. This often makes a strange impression and scares gifted candidates away from the profession of official. Wasn't civil service valued above all else in Rome, which for centuries has been a point of reference for us? The same was the case in old Poland.

[Question] In Rome.... Once, I called you Caligula, when you were carrying out a completely insane plan. Bringing poets to Lomza is almost as bad as bringing a horse to the senate. Let's talk about it later. For now, could you say something about your service record.

[Answer] I was born in 1940 in Sieradz voivodship. I graduated from the law school in Wroclaw. Due to the topic of my M.A. thesis, I took interest in the operation of people's councils at this early stage. I am omitting various intermediate stages. In 1973, I became a county administrator in Monki, and shortly thereafter—lieutenant governor of Lomza. Later, I worked some time for my party, the ZSL [United Peasant Party], and finally assumed the post of governor in Sieradz. From there, I moved on to Warsaw to become an under secretary of state in the Ministry of Culture and Art. Therefore, I dealt alternately with local and central offices.

[Question] What has been your experience in the matter?

[Answer] To begin with, an overwhelming majority of public officials are businesslike and competent people. Those who work in parishes, towns or voivodship offices should command special respect. The experience of my work in Sieradz reinforced this opinion of mine. I am a person who is not afraid to make a decision, make it quickly and resolutely and control its execution. I am not easy to work for, I am little interested in explanations of why, for what reason, "please understand," etc. Once, two directors came to me requesting that I make a decision, each with his own business. One of them began with a lengthy justification; it was beginning to look like a long conversation. At this point, I told him that we were on the eve of the 21st century, when we may be able to communicate without using words, and time would matter much more. He should have already known my decision. Then he said he indeed knew it already. The other director did the same. They indeed knew my decision. It was not too hard to do it.

[Question] Let us return for a moment to famous Lomza, the big issue. Making a small town into a cultural center—and it has almost worked: I recall that people such as Grochowiak, Bryll, Janusz Krasinski, Koenig, Hanuszkiewicz... to say nothing of the inestimable yours truly have made the decision to associate more or less closely with Lomza. Eventually, only Kulka and Gala remained, and they are indeed doing something.

[Answer] Lomza could offer a good environment for work: concentration and quiet, good will and everyday contact with common life and the average reader. This is quite a lot. Little towns have already been large cultural centers. At the time, a lot went on there. Then, history has had its say. However, I was not always free to act, as I was before this in Monki or later in Sieradz. It is exactly these two periods of my career that I see as the most interesting, as a personal test of my character—because I hate anonymity. I would like to mention in very strong terms the need to reinforce in social consciousness the conviction that administration must be a factor of stabilization and order in the highly complex, contemporary world. It should also be open to new concepts, it must provide an incentive for development. It is another matter that this is not always the case, and a lot is being said about it. However, this continues to be one of the most significant social functions and one of the most noble careers.

[Question] Such pragmatism displayed by a Caligula! Which areas of culture are you in charge of now?

[Answer] Now I am responsible for the promotion of culture and centers for the promotion of culture, variety shows, the Institute of Culture, contacts with the voivodships and several other issues.

[Question] However, promotion was the first on the list. This has a stilted ring to it. What kind of promoting culture is it without television, radio and the press, which are, after all, managed by someone else?

[Answer] What is the value of it all without contact with the live person, without books, libraries? The 50,000 people who take care of it are not working in vain. I do believe that the ministry also should have a role of sorts in promoting the best methods and experience, an inspiring role.

[Question] I do not believe that it is possible to carry out these noble intentions.

[Answer] But of course! I may not be able to inspire an artist, though even Michelangelo went along with what the politicians suggested. However, I can certainly suggest something to another functionary, suggest it and give help. This is why personal contact is so important. One should also devote time to this, and generously. Contacts, in their turn, lead to friendships, which is well known.

9761

**Komsomol Visit Increases Polish-Soviet Contacts**  
*26000255a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish*  
*5-6 Mar 88 p 2*

[Article by (KS): "Closer Contacts, Broader Cooperation"]

[Text] On 4 March, at the end of an almost weeklong visit in Poland by a delegation of the All-Union Leninist Youth Communist League headed by First Secretary of the VLKSM CC Viktor Mironenko, documents of great significance for the cooperation of young people from both states in 1988-1989 were signed.

Among other things, such cooperation will extend to ideology, science and culture, organization of recreation, as well as the economy, technology and ecology. Within the framework of implementing the science and technology and economic programs of the CEMA "Commonwealth," direct contacts between youth organizations in factories, enterprises and economic organizations of Poland and the Soviet Union are intended to be promoted thoroughly.

A press conference at the Main Board of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] followed the signing of the documents. In the opening, Viktor Mironenko shared his impressions from the visit in Poland. In his opinion, some methods of work, e.g., those of scouts, should be used in the work of the pioneer organization. Likewise, the achievements and operation of our "Agrotechnika" and the "Student-Servis" cooperative deserve to be promoted among the league members. Mutual relations among youth organizations operating in our country were of interest to our guests.

The journalists asked numerous questions about tourist trips by the young people of both countries. The exchange of tourists may increase year after year, said V. Mironenko. However, its volume depends primarily on

the facilities and changes in the way spare time is spent. In our opinion, special tourism—on bicycles, tent trips, etc.—should develop primarily for young people. Basic elements of the Youth Communist League will engage in its organization to a greater degree than has been the case. It is estimated that this year 100,000 young citizens of Poland and the USSR will take advantage of tourist exchanges. "Sputnik" and "Juventur" Travel Agencies are preparing for them, among other things, tent sites at lake Baikal.

Chairman of the Main Board of the ZSMP Jerzy Szmajdzinski also took part in the meeting. In response to a question by a RZECZPOSPOLITA correspondent about the significance of the documents signed for the operation of Polish youth organizations in the coming 2 years he said:

"Based on the determinations made in these documents, I believe that youth exchange between the USSR and Poland will grow two- to three-fold. Contacts between the communities of intellectuals in the two countries, including journalists, will also be more frequent. After all, we are short on indepth information on various aspects of life of both the Polish and Soviet youth."

Within the framework of implementing the "Commonwealth" program, the ZSMP assumes the sponsorship of "Magnitogorsk 2000" project. It should also be noted that our young scientists will do research essential for science, technology and economy of the two countries together with their Soviet counterparts.

9761

**PZPR CC Group on Social Sciences Meets**  
*26000249f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish*  
*25 Feb 88 p 2*

[Text] On 24 February, member of the Politburo, PZPR CC Secretary Tadeusz Porebski met with the chairmen of Party Social Sciences Groups of the PZPR CC Department of Science, Education and Scientific-Technical Progress.

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**PZPR CC Ideology Commission Meets**  
*26000249g Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish*  
*25 Feb 88 p 2*

[Text] The PZPR CC Ideological Commission met in Warsaw on 24 February. The proceedings, attended by Politburo member, PZPR CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek, were dedicated to a discussion of program and organizational guidelines for the 3rd National Ideological and Theoretical Party Conference. Chairman of the commission Henryk Bednarski and Head of the PZPR CC Ideological Department Andrzej Czyz reported on the features of the guidelines as well as the basic content and forms of preparatory work for the conference.

Members of the Preparatory Team for the 3rd National Party Conference took part in the proceedings.

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### **PZPR Voivodship Plenums Reported**

#### **Housing, Enterprise Finances Discussed**

26000253 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
7 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Roman Bajeralajn: "New Incentives for Reform"]

[Excerpts] To be sure, a popular saying goes "The third time is the charm," but there should not be a third stage of the [economic] reform. The reform should be implemented in two stages. On this note, Zygmunt Serwatka, an employee of the Koniecpol Hardboard Enterprise, ended his remarks in the discussion at the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Czesochowa held on 5 March of this year. It was devoted to discussing the avenues for actions by the voivodship party organization aimed at fully implementing the second stage of the economic reform.

One of the main directions for party actions should be associated with an increase in the efficiency of management and the introduction of scientific-technical progress. Against this background, Tadeusz Musialski from the Production and Repair Enterprise of the Power Industry in Lubliniec pointed out insufficient participation by R&D facilities in modernizing production. At the same time, he stated, the lack of pertinent information results in unprofitable imports of equipment which we are capable of producing domestically.

One of the suggestions made by Wladyslaw Jurczak from the Czesochowa Fireproof Materials Enterprise involved treating anti-import production the same way production for export is treated. He argued that hard currency saved in this fashion is as valuable as that generated by exports.

Many speakers criticized the need to maintain a hard-currency account for purchases of raw and other materials. In the case of enterprises such as "Wartex" this is a major impediment to production, including that of consumer goods.

During the discussion, an attempt was made to analyze the causes of retrogression in the housing construction in the voivodship. Opportunities to reverse it were pointed out.

Much attention was also paid to the issue of shaping social consciousness as one of the prerequisites for the success of the reform.

The Voivodship Committee plenum also heard a report on the progress of report party meetings.

First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Jerzy Sypek chaired the proceedings of the plenum, which was attended by Zofia Stepień, member of the PZPR CC Politburo.

#### **Joint ZSL Plenum on Agriculture**

26000253 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
7 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Zbigniew Wrobel: "Make Bolder Use of Agricultural Sciences"]

[Excerpts] Being 32nd in the country as far as soil quality is concerned, agriculture of Gdansk voivodship ranks 16th in the production of commercial foodstuffs. Over the last 5 years, a very marked increase in yields of grains, from 25.3 quintals per hectare in 1982 to 33 quintals last year, was achieved in the fields of Gdansk voivodship farmed under difficult climatic conditions and on very diverse soils, ranging from fertile lands in the delta of the Vistula to sandy soils of the Kaszuby. Yields exceeding 90 quintals per hectare are not a rarity in the region.

The agricultural sector of the Gdansk Seaboard, enterprising and bold in the use of new methods in agricultural technology and animal husbandry, banks, same as before, on persistence in implementing the principles of agricultural policy adopted by the joint plenum of the PZPR CC and the Main Committee of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and outlined in the program of the 10th PZPR Congress. This was stressed by participants in the discussion at the joint plenum of the PZPR and ZSL Voivodship Committees in Gdansk, evaluating the achievements of agriculture at the coast and prospects for developing the food economy until 1990.

The proceedings were chaired by alternate member of the PZPR CC Politburo, First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Gdansk Stanislaw Bejger and Chairman of the ZSL Voivodship Committee Jerzy Schwarz. Alternate member of the Politburo, PZPR CC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and member of the Presidium, secretary of the Main Committee of the ZSL Kazimierz Olesiak were in attendance.

Zenon Sobiecki (PZPR), chairman of the Zduny Producer Cooperative, discussed in his remarks unconventional ways to increase food processing and to use regional raw materials reserves in vegetable growing, horticulture and small animal husbandry.

Numerous examples of positive results of joint economic and social initiatives by PZPR and ZSL elements aimed at solving specific problems of rural areas in the Gdansk region were cited in the remarks of 21 discussants.

Zbigniew Michalek and Kazimierz Olesiak took the floor in the discussion responding to the issues raised during the proceedings. The plenum adopted a joint resolution outlining the tasks of both parties in developing agriculture in the Gdansk region.

### **Focus on 'Enterprising Spirit'**

26000253 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
7 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Andrzej Twardzik: "Enterprise as a Prerequisite for Success"]

[Excerpts] The PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum in Wloclawek on 5 March was devoted to economic issues. Enterprise as the main prerequisite for the success of the second stage of economic reform in the Kujawy and Dobrzyn lands area was the hub of the discussion.

Among other things, participants in the proceedings attempted to respond to the following question: what hampers production and organizational initiatives in local industrial, construction and transportation enterprises and cooperatives? Are impracticable regulations and incorrect "decisions made higher up" the reason, or are internal factors, resulting from incompetence in managing plants and factories, also at work?

Matters of export were also featured prominently in the discussion. Once again, the Wloclawek [Paint and] Varnish [Plant], the "Mera" and the Wloclawek Household Ceramics Enterprise were mentioned as positive examples. At these enterprises, specific and profitable initiatives are undertaken, due to which exports are growing.

Insufficiently widespread use of modern forms of labor and production organization drew criticism.

A position paper adopted by the plenum specifically refers to the need for a persistent removal of all psychological, organizational and economic barriers under new economic conditions.

### **Weakened Party Authority Noted**

26000253 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
7 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by Czeslaw Kubasik: "Passiveness and Waiting Do Not Command Authority"]

[Excerpts] Reinforcing basic party organizations in the environment of reforming the state and the economy was the topic of a joint meeting by the PZPR Voivodship Committee and the Voivodship Control and Audit Commission in Wroclaw. Among others, member of the PZPR CC Politburo, PZPR CC Secretary Jozef Baryla and Deputy Chairman of the CKKR [Central Audit and Control Commission] Jerzy Wilk took part in the plenum on 5 March.

The proceedings were chaired by First Secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Zdzislaw Balicki.

Issues of responsibility by basic party organizations for the introduction of the reform in enterprises were particularly emphasized in the report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee presented by secretary of the board Bogdan Kleszczewski. Party organizations must be sufficiently strong, they must represent in their communities a well-knit and buoyant force capable of independent action and effective influence on their entire environment, if this responsibility is not to be a pronouncement with nothing to back it up or a hollow declaration.

We are fully aware that the authority of the party continues to be considerably weakened, despite numerous signs of its gradual increase. This is also what basic party organizations are aware of, though to a varying degree. However, something needs to be understood full-well: you do not gain authority by being passive and waiting, by avoiding difficult matters, evading decision-making and putting off significant issues in the hope that they will resolve themselves.

The discussants returned most often to this idea expressed in the report. Referring to a recent conflict of a part of the workforce with the management over the payment of the so-called "13th salary," brigade leader from the Railway Rolling Stock Repair Enterprise in Wroclaw Adam Demkowicz made critical remarks about the in-house system of party information.

Discussing the political and economic situation in his community, First Secretary of the PZPR Enterprise Committee at the Household Appliance Enterprise "Polar" Andrzej Lyda said with concern that increased democracy is not always accompanied by increased responsibility. For example, in "Polar" talking to the representatives of employee self-government is difficult. The party organization has grown stronger in the fire of battle and is carrying on an open dialogue.

First secretary of the basic party organization in the Road Equipment Production and Repair Enterprise "Madro" Wieslaw Lis said point-blank that the party will have authority when its members and echelons safeguard justice among people.

9761

### **Sejm Planning Commission in Direct Contact With Soviet Counterpart**

26000255c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
27-28 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] In the coming days, a delegation of the Sejm Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance is departing for the USSR for talks with its counterpart in the Supreme Soviet. This reflects a pickup in the contacts between the parliaments of the two states.



At the same time, this visit is significant as the first practical step in implementing the concept of establishing direct working, bilateral contacts by commissions of their parliaments, discussed last year at a Warsaw meeting of the heads of parliaments in the Warsaw Treaty member countries. This means different commissions, not just the ones specializing in foreign policy or issues of the interparliamentary union.

Let us recall that this idea is intended to promote new forms of cooperation among the parliaments of socialist countries.

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### **PRON Delegation Visits Latvia**

*26000255d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
5-6 Mar 88 p 8*

[Text] A PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] delegation visiting the Soviet Union, including Chairman of the PRON National Council Jan Dobraczynski and PZPR CC Secretary, PRON Secretary General Stanislaw Ciosek spent 3 days in the Latvian SSR familiarizing itself with political, economic and cultural life of the republic.

The delegation was received by Chairman of the Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR Jan Vagris, visited the Latvian Association of Friendship and Cultural Cooperation with Foreign Countries and paid a visit at the Republican Council for Religious Affairs. Jan Dobraczynski met with a representative of the Latvian Roman Catholic Church Bishop Jan Cekuls.

9761

### **CPSU Agricultural Delegation Visits**

*26000255e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
5-6 Mar 88 p 7*

[Text] According to the plan of cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU, a delegation of CPSU CC members and alternate members—employees of the agricultural sector visited Poland.

The 5-member delegation headed by Natalia Gellert, CPSU CC member, deputy of the Supreme Soviet, tractor operator at the Amangeldy State Farm in Kazakh SSR, visited Warsaw, Ciechanow and Olsztyn voivodships. The Soviet guests visited state farms, cooperatives, private farms and food processing enterprises. They met with the activists of the Rural Housewives' Circles and visited the Technical and Agricultural Academy at Olsztyn.

Conversations with farmers and meetings with the work forces of enterprises allowed the members of central CPSU authorities to familiarize themselves with party

activities in rural communities and the role of party organizations and employee self-government in implementing the guidelines for the second stage of the economic reform.

On the last day of the visit, 4 March, the CPSU CC delegation met with alternate member of the PZPR CC Politburo, PZPR CC Secretary Zbigniew Michalek. He informed the guests about changes under way in our agricultural sector in the course of implementing the agricultural policy aimed at achieving self-sufficiency in foodstuffs in our country. The PZPR CC secretary pointed out the role of economic levers affecting the growth of agricultural production and improvements in its quality, which has been increasing during the period of implementing the economic reform.

"Direct economic cooperation between Polish and Soviet agricultural enterprises developing in recent years is a favorable influence on progress in agriculture," said Z. Michalek. Visits by CC members should pave the way for further developing these direct contacts.

"Soviet agriculture," said Natalia Gellert, "is also banking on methods which will provide for a faster increase in production."

"While visiting your farms and food processing enterprises we were able to see how the issues of interest to us are resolved in Poland. We could see that both the workforces of socialized farms and private farmers in your country are interested in increasing production, which proves that the reform is working."

"We could also notice the effort of your agriculture and food processing to increase export production. We were glad to meet the activists of the Rural Housewives' Circles which are involved in varied activities."

Flowers and best wishes were offered to Soviet and Polish women on the occasion of the forthcoming holiday, 8 March.

Chief of the Chancery of the PZPR CC Secretariat Boguslaw Kolodziejczak and Head of the PZPR CC Agricultural Department Kazimierz Grzesiak took part in the meeting.

Minister Councillor of the Embassy of the USSR Mieczyslaw Sienkiewicz was in attendance.

9761

### **Israeli Journalists Visit Auschwitz Site**

*26000249e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
26 Feb 88 p 2*

[Text] Participants of the seminar for the Israeli and Jewish press visited the compound of the former German extermination camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau. A former prisoner of the Auschwitz concentration camp,

currently the director of the Oswiecim museum Kazimierz Smolen reviewed the work of this peculiar museum unit, which warns against what fascism, racism and war may bring about. Participants of the symposium paid homage to the memory of those killed.

9761

### **National Defense League Membership Numbers Given**

26000249c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
26 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] We cannot be an institution which waits for clients. We should gear ourselves to vigorous actions, to winning over new members and supporters, stated Chairman of the ZG LOK [Main Board of the National Defense League] Gen Arms Tadeusz Tuczapski at a press conference. We have 2,15 million members belonging to 34,000 circles and clubs, including over 800,000 [high-school] students belonging to 11,500 school circles of the LOK. However, we do not think it is a lot. There are opportunities to set up new circles in colleges, enterprises and in many schools. Participation by the league in action "Winter '88" was also discussed.

9761

### **Defense Committee Meetings Reported**

26000249d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
26 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] Voivodship Defense Committees have held meetings. In Bydgoszcz, the issues of fire safety were discussed. A need to increase the number of direct phone lines between enterprises and fire brigades was indicated. In Suwalki, fulfillment of the program for preventing and combatting social deviance in the area was evaluated. An increase in juvenile crime was noted.

9761

### **Soviet Army Anniversary Events Noted**

26000249j Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] The days of friendship and brotherhood-in-arms between our peoples and armies, sponsored by the ZG TPPR [Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Association] on occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army, are under way. Many events are held at which the history of the formation and the present image of the Soviet armed forces are recalled.

9761

### **Polish, Soviet Film Production Cooperation Growth**

26000255b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by Jerzy Jurczynski: "Premieres, Reviews, Joint Productions"]

[Text] Polish-Soviet cooperation in the cinema industry, embracing reviews of artistic accomplishments in Poland and the USSR and joint production, is developing and being enriched by new aspects. Recently, an agreement on cooperation in 1988, detailing the scope of mutual obligations in the cinema industry, cooperation and organizational actions, was signed in Warsaw.

Let us recall here joint undertakings last year. We remember advance screenings in Poland of "Repentance," "The Topic" and "Farewell"—movies which gained world renown in 1987. Right after these successes, these movies played in our country. Soviet movies were successful at the Festival of Short Movies in Krakow—Grand Prix, the Chromy Prize and the FIPRESCI prize for the well-known documentary by J. Podnijs "Is It Easy to Be Young?" The Days of Soviet Film in November were a success.

Last year, movies directed by V. Turov ("Crossing") and M. Piestrak ("Curse of the Weza Valley") were jointly produced. A TV serial "Crossing" is in production (8 installments). Very soon, J. Machulski will begin shooting the Polish-Soviet movie "The 48-hour Visa" from the script written together with A. Borodianskii. Cooperation in mutual services for both feature films and documentaries is vigorous. It should be mentioned on this occasion that Barbara Brylska and Maria Probosz played in the Soviet movie "Under the Full Moon," while Grazyna Szapolowska played in "First Date—Last Date" and "Middle Eastern Story."

The export of Polish movies to the USSR is growing. In the 3rd quarter alone, the Soviet distributor purchased "Fragments of the War," "Zygryd," "Episode Berlin-West," "Friend of the Merry Devil," "Ringleader," "Hero of the Year," "I am Against," "White Dragon," "My Mother's Lovers" and three other movies. Recently, Polish commissions selected early movies by Tengiz Abuladze, including "Molva," two movies by Kira Muratova, "Garage," "Messenger," which has already been seen in Poland at several screenings, and "Plum-Bum."

Many joint events are envisaged by cooperation [agreements] in 1988. The USSR will participate in the Krakow and Gdynia festivals ("Interforum" screenings). Our filmmakers will attend festivals in Baku (national) and Tashkent (countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America).

In November, the traditional Days of Soviet Film will be held. New movies carefully selected from the list of those proposed will be included in the program. In April, time has been reserved for the Spring Encounter with Soviet Films. Days of Polish Film will be held in the USSR in July. Exchange screenings of movies by young directors are also planned. New items of the agreement are, among other things, a retrospective of movies by Jerzy Kawalerowicz in the USSR, a screening entitled "Polish Cinema of the 1980s," which may be of interest to the Soviet audience and a review of short Polish movies. In its turn, the Film Library in Poland is preparing a retrospective of movies by Andrei Tarkovskii (April), of outstanding movies directed by women (e.g. movies by Larisa Shepit'ko and Kira Muratova) and screenings of new, but already well-known movies (as advance screenings).

9761

### **Shipbuilding Federations Seek To Form Single, Federated Union**

26000272a Warsaw ZWIAZKOWIEC in Polish No 12  
Mar 88 p 6

[Article by (i): "Integration"]

[Text] On 16 March, a new federation was registered in the shipbuilding industry by the Voivodship Court in Warsaw. Actually, it is not entirely new, because it resulted from a merger of two federations previously in existence: of the Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Industry headquartered in Szczecin and of the Shipyard Industry "Shipyard Workers" headquartered in Gdansk.

Why are you merging? What are you hoping to accomplish by setting up a single supraenterprise trade union structure?—I asked the FZZPRiSS [Trade Union Federation of the Shipbuilding and Ship Repair Industry] Chairman Maciej Manicki.

—In one sentence, I might answer as follows: the shipyard community is one and should be represented by one organization. What does it mean for us?

In our branch of the shipyard industry, the trade union movement was highly fractionated, and antagonisms between "the builders" and "the repairers," or between "the East" (Gdansk) and "the West" (Szczecin), permeated the community. On top of it, there are riverine craft shipyards. Besides, the shipyards have always "belonged" to two or three ministries, two or three trade union associations. At present, after the reform of "the center," the shipbuilding industry also reports to two ministries, the Ministry of Industry and the Ministry of Transport, Merchant Marine and Communications. This dividing line almost exactly resembled the division of operating areas of the old federations.

Solving the problems of work forces was very difficult and often altogether impossible given all of these divisions, and the problems are many. At present, we believe

the signing of a collective labor contract to be one of our most significant demands. We want this to be a collective contract for the shipbuilding industry. This is why we have decided to do away with at least one division, that of trade unions. Our estimation is that it will be easier for an integrated federation to set up a lobby and exact its demands more effectively. After all, unity is strength! Also, we want to reduce the cost of operation of union structures.

One more thing. We ourselves created this structure of the [trade union] movement in preference to others. We should also improve it and change it ourselves. The point is not to approach the issue on the principle "it is better to be a cat's head than a lion's tail."

Says Kazimierz Schreiber, chairman of the Trade Union Federation of the Shipyard Industry "Shipyard Workers," headquartered in Gdansk:

The idea of merging with the fraternal Trade Union Federation of the Ship Repair and Shipbuilding Industry originated in December 1985 among the activists of both trade union groups. We thought about how to do it, whether to go the way the miners did or do it our own way. The concept of merging and setting up a new federation prevailed. This was also ratified by our enterprise union chapters and subsequently conferences of delegates. On 27 November 1987, definitive decisions were made, and we adopted a draft charter. We included in it the planks of both federations to date. We also established that the council and the presidium of the federation will consist of equal numbers of members in these bodies of the "repair" and "shipyard" federations. We will elect the chairman and his first deputy at the first meeting of the council of the new federation following registration.

We expect to handle our trade union tasks together with more ease and efficiency, to be stronger in the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] forum and in negotiations with enterprise management and ministries. After all, following the merger we no longer will be 17,000 to 19,000 strong separately, but will have a combined membership of 36,000.

We believe the unification of trade union organizations and, as a result, of the entire shipyard community to be natural and desirable, to be a necessity, because times are difficult, and there are many issues to settle.

Our new representative will assume the name FZZPS [Trade Union Federation of the Shipbuilding Industry]. Therefore, we will be a supraenterprise structure unifying trade unions in the entire shipbuilding industry.

9761

**Attorney General Office Assesses Anti-Crime Measures**

26000249h Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
25 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] The Board of the Office of the Attorney General of the PRP evaluated the level of compliance with the law and implementation of the legal acts on preventing and combatting instances of social deviance. Actions by the Office of the Attorney General and other state organs have brought about further, if insufficient, improvement in the level of compliance with the law.

9761

**Readers Challenge Government Spokesman on Youth Emigration Issue**

**Education Debt Negated**

26000265 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish  
9 Mar 88 p 6

[Letter to the editor by Jozef Smaga, Krakow: "I May Be Too Negative"]

[Text] I am a college educator with an almost 30-year tenure. I deal with young people every day. I have thought about and made certain observations in this matter of concern to all of us. I have always been against going abroad to take up permanent residence. However, I admit that, apart from emotional considerations, I increasingly often lack matter-of-fact arguments in order to wean the peers of my children off the intention to abandon our country. I believe that, along with the obvious financial considerations, a serious discussion on this subject should take into account the imponderables, such as, say, the feelings of our young compatriot embarking on adult life, his eventual conviction that, if he stays here, he will be able to feel a master of the house and influence the course of events, that somebody will care about his opinion and so on. Unfortunately, an answer to these questions in the negative is perhaps more obvious now than it has ever been. Despite continuous and solemn assurances concerning radical, profound (and continuously made more so), bold, innovative and even revolutionary ideas, plans and intentions in the economy and political life, not only does everything remain the same, but we can even register retrogression on some issues. (....)

In Minister Urban's statement, I have discerned a theme well known to me, that of putting to shame the young ungratefals on account of the education they have received free of charge. This argument goes back a long way. I first went to college still in Stalin's times, when my father in the village was oppressed by many mandatory contributions (draconian taxes, grain, meat, milk for next to nothing plus mandatory hauling of timber from state forests for a similar "fee"), which is the reason why he could not help his student son, who could not make ends meet on a partial scholarship and at times had to go

without a dinner. Despite all of this, many times later they made me feel ashamed for the diploma I got, noting that before the war advancement for me was out of the question. Most often I encountered such a reproach when I asked questions which I shouldn't have.

I have always believed that it is incumbent on an educated person to make use of his education, his ability to find linkage among the facts, that criticism and opposition to what appears to be poppycock or harmful nonsense is simply his professional responsibility.

Recently, I protested in letters to college and ministry authorities against the social damage, enormous waste of paper and obvious semantic and logical nonsense of the action of cadre evaluation in colleges. I did not question the principle of holding a person responsible for his job, but the highly dubious forms of carrying out this action, which run absolutely counter to its spirit. I thought that I can oppose evident nonsense which insults me as an educated person, but it turned out that this behavior was very harmful. Imagine that the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology demanded that the dean of the WSP [Higher Pedagogical School] in Krakow fire me from my job!

A young man observes this and similar events, puts the facts together and learns a lesson, coming to the conclusion that education received as a "gift from the Motherland" will never be used in a sensible manner, because very often they require of him subordination and obedience to the latest order regardless of how harmful and stupid it happens to be.

Am I being too negative? If so, then perhaps just a little bit. A couple months ago I heard on Radio Warsaw that in American institutes and colleges it is increasingly easy to communicate in Polish. This is how many Poles, incidentally doing all right, there are. These American Poles from the latest exodus know well that over there everything depends solely on them and their work. (....)

I believe that this time around the entire affair will end up as well in nothing but yet another "discussion," which after some time will be "wrapped up," as is the custom. And everything will remain unchanged.

**Authorities Blamed**

26000265 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish  
9 Mar 88 p 6

[Letter to the editor by Tadeusz Tanas, Warsaw: "Why Are They Emigrating?"]

[Text] In my opinion the statement by [Government Spokesman] Jerzy Urban about young educated people emigrating for financial considerations missed the point. It is not the fault of these young people that they want to make money, have money and use it and better their lot. Minister J. Urban has a grievance against these people for allegedly being unpatriotic, because their education

cost a lot, and they are not working for our country. Such grievances may and should be pointed in the opposite direction, i.e., against the authorities which could not and cannot create a situation when people do not have to emigrate to make money. Little is being done to increase the wage spread and to make salaries dependent on the input of labor and its value.

Reducing people to one dimension is an economic, psychological and political mistake. A creative person and a passive person are put in the same box of pay scales. Let the abilities determine wages rather than years of mediocre work in order to earn long tenure.

Therefore, Minister Urban should criticize his employer, but in this event he could lose his job, so I am writing this for him. The government should abandon the principle according to which we go to college for free, get medical attention for free and work for next to nothing.... Hence, this large emigration. The generation of the 1940s and the 1950s could work for next to nothing—at the time, the country was being raised from the ashes. Generational change should have caused a change in principles established after the war. Years have gone by, but the authorities have not done it; hence, periodic social turmoil inspired by the artistic intelligencia. Therefore, if we want the educated people not to emigrate en masse, we should:

—consider charges for [college] education, so that Minister Urban will not have to complain that it is expensive, that people emigrate and the state loses (it loses because it cannot, it does not have the courage to change the principles of charity which at present are an anachronism).

—change the salary policy for graduates, especially the ones graduating with distinction.

9761

**Press, Personnel Changes, Media Development,  
January 1988**

26000263 Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 3,  
Mar 88 pp 55-59

[Excerpts] 1 January. Jozef Barecki was appointed editor in chief of NOWE DROGI.

Kazimierz Dudko was appointed editor in chief of URODA and was simultaneously recalled from the post of editor in chief in the Head Office of Picture Services and Exhibitions of the Interpress Press Agency.

Grzegorz Eider was appointed deputy editor in chief of KOMPUTER.

Slawomir Tabkowski was recalled from the post of editor in chief of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA.

Zenon Kurkowski was appointed editor-in-chief of the Head Office of Picture Services and Exhibitions of the Interpress Press Agency.

4 January. A meeting was held at the club of the Silesian Military District in Wroclaw between the district command and press, radio and TV journalists involved in covering military and defense issues. Commander of the Silesian Military District Gen Brig Henryk Szumski, Deputy Commander for Political Issues Gen Brig Dr Zdzislaw Rozbicki and Chairman of the Wroclaw chapter of the SDPRL [Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic] Wacław Dominik took part in the meeting.

In the course of the meeting, Gen Brig Z. Rozbicki reviewed the achievements of journalists belonging to the Club of Military and Defense Journalists of the SDPRL and informed them about the main undertakings of the Silesian Military District in 1988. Among other things, he stated that press, radio and TV journalists have covered well the training labors of soldiers and achievements of units in their numerous reports from firing ranges and training grounds. Many reports have covered the work of soldiers benefitting the national economy. Many publications have concerned military education, farewell ceremonies for draftees leaving for army service, greeting ceremonies for reservists returning to civilian life and cooperation by military units with enterprises and civilian party and youth organizations.

Likewise, in 1988 there is no dearth of topics for military and defense journalists, said General Rozbicki. This will be facilitated by anniversaries, including 45 years of the People's Polish Armed Forces and 70 years of the formation of the Soviet Army. Journalists belonging to the Club of Military and Defense Journalists should also cover in their publications the activities of the reserve officers' clubs, present the varied accomplishments of the movement of inventors and innovators and military education.

The discussion touched on many issues, among others, on those involving the flow of information on key events in the Silesian Military District, censorship regulations on military secrets and cooperation by journalists and military units. It was also suggested that a military magazine of the Silesian Military District be brought back on the Wroclaw Center of the Polish TV.

7 January. At the Warsaw House of the Journalist, the Environmental Protection Club of the SDPRL organized a meeting devoted to hunting management in the context of deterioration in the natural environment and to the operation of the PIOS [State Environmental Protection Inspectorate] in 1987. Chief Inspector of Hunting at the Ministry of Forestry Janusz Sikorski and representatives of the PIOS were guests of the club.

10 January. Zdzislaw Antos was appointed TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent in Latin America and Havana.

Krystyna Szelestowska-Maksymowicz was appointed TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent in Beijing.

14 January. Chairman of the SDPRL Leszek Gontarski and Chairman of the GDR Association of Journalists Kurt Vogal signed in Berlin an agreement on cooperation between the two organizations in 1988. Among other things, the agreement provides for organization of joint seminars, exchange of articles on particular topics among individual editorial offices, help in foreign language instruction and joint consultations on selected topics.

14 January. The SDPRL Club of Aviation Journalists organized a meeting with the management of the enterprise "Airports" at the Warsaw airport of Okęcie. Members of the club familiarized themselves with the intentions of the enterprise for the immediate future: construction of a new airport terminal in Warsaw, as well as airport structures in several voivodship seats. General Director of Airports Stanislaw Czarny took part in the meeting. He informed the journalists about key goals of the enterprise until 1992.

14 January. The SDPRL Club of Social and Law Journalists organized a meeting at the Warsaw House of the Journalist with Civil Rights Ombudsman Prof Dr Ewa Letowska on the topic "what a journalist should know about the duties and rights of the civil rights ombudsman." Members of other clubs concerned were invited to the meeting.

15 January. Tadeusz Kielan was appointed editor in chief of PROJEKT.

Witalis Luba was appointed editor in chief of NIWA.

15-16 January. The Club of Warsaw Journalists, in cooperation with the Warsaw PZPR Committee and the Mayor's Office, organized a meeting with editors in chief of party newspapers on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw. During the meeting at the city hall, the journalists queried the city leaders about, among other things, the future of the subway, issues of construction and housing management, new investment in [retail] trade and services. Janusz Kubasiewicz and Jerzy Boleslawski responded to questions.

21 January. In Warsaw, the Contemporary Workers' Cooperative Publishing House "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" celebrated its 30th anniversary. The publishing house, set up in December 1957, started out as a publisher of 6 periodicals. Now it publishes 44 periodicals (including PRASA POLSKA) with a combined circulation of almost 4.3 million copies.

21 January. At the Warsaw House of the Journalist, the SDPRL Club of Journalists "Friendship" held a meeting with Ambassador of the USSR Vladimir Brovnikov, devoted to the issues of restructuring the socio-economic life in the Land of Soviets and the role of the mass media.

The need for the Polish mass media to cover in more depth the process of reform and events in the Soviet Union was also brought up in the course of the meeting.

The meeting ended in a solemn award ceremony for the winner of the competition "The Soviet Union on the 70th Anniversary of Great October," jointly sponsored by the Main Board of the SDPRL, the USSR Association of Journalists and the Main Board of the TPPR [Polish-Soviet Friendship Association].

22 January. The SDPRL Club of Journalists "Friendship" organized a meeting at the Warsaw House of the Journalist with Tadeusz Kraska, the author of documentaries about Lithuania. The meeting opened with the screening of two TV movies "Red Rock, Vilnius'87" and "Tiesa Means Truth." Director J. Vaitkus from a film studio in Vilnius and editor N. Morozov from Moscow TV took part in the meeting.

28 January. The SDPRL Club of Journalists "Friendship," in cooperation with the Warsaw House of Soviet Science and Culture organized a meeting on the topic "Ideological Struggle in the Contemporary World" at the House. Prof. Dr. Mark Shkungenin from the Institute of International Relations and the World Economy in Moscow delivered a report.

29 January. Illustrated weekly KRAJ RAD published in Polish by the "Novosti" Press Agency celebrated its 30th anniversary. At the anniversary meeting, Chairman of the Main Board of the TPPR Henryk Bednarski presented the award "For Fraternal Assistance" to the editor in chief of the weekly Stanislaw Sztukatur. A dozen journalists and contributors to the magazine received "Gold Honorary Award of the TPPR."

31 January. Ryszard Wasita was recalled from the post of editor in chief of POLSKA-WSCHOD.

Andrzej Wielunski was recalled from the post of deputy editor in chief of the monthly CZLOWIEK I SWIATO-POGLAD.

Ryszard Wojciechowski was recalled from the post of deputy editor in chief of MOTYWY.

#### Supplement:

The previous chronicle of personnel changes in the press in December of last year did not include all resolutions. Here is an addendum to this notice.

15 December. Stanislaw Wronski was recalled from the post of editor in chief of NOWE DROGI.

31 December. Roman Gutkowski was recalled from the post of editor in chief of FORUM.

Maciej Jedrzejczak was recalled from the post of editor in chief of DELTA.

Tomasz Kwast was recalled from the post of deputy editor in chief of DELTA.

9761

#### **Papal Gift to Czestochowa Hospital**

26000249i Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
25 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] A newly opened diabetes clinic for children at the Voivodship Clinic for Mother and Child in Czestochowa has added valuable pieces of equipment. They are four glucose counters "Reflolux 2" with attachments, designed to determine quickly the sugar content in a drop of blood. The equipment is a gift by Pope John Paul II. It was transferred to representatives of the health service by Bishop Stanislaw Nowak.

9761

### **ROMANIA**

#### **Summary of Ceausescu's View of Romanian History**

27000060 Bucharest *ANALE DE ISTORIE* in  
Romanian Jan 1988 pp 57-68

[Article by Ion Ardeleanu: "The History of the Romanian People in the Works of the Party Secretary General and Nation's President, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu"]

[Text] History as a science has always taken and continues to take a prominent place within the RCP's theoretical and political-ideological activities, and the works of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, clearly reflect this reality. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has reincorporated the comprehensive picture of the Romanian people's evolution into the realm of science (Footnote 1) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "History of the Romanian People," Military Publishing House, Bucharest, 1983), in keeping with the basic consideration that history, as a science, "constitutes the foundation for any ideological, theoretical, and political-educational work. There can be no patriotic or socialist education without familiarization with and respect for the past and for the labor and struggle of our forefathers. We have a glorious past, and that past is our people's most precious legacy. It is our duty to develop and to enrich this precious legacy with new material and cultural achievements, and to raise the people and our socialist nation to higher peaks of civilization." (Footnote 2) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania Along the Road of Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society," Vol 24, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1983, p 15)

Harshly criticizing the misinterpretations of our history and the falsehoods that had been inserted—particularly in the 1948-64 period, concerning the historical evolution of the Romanian people, our party and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally have formulated new theses and interpretations that are solidly rooted in the

concept of dialectical and historical materialism and that impel the historians to bring to the builders of the comprehensively developed socialist society a history founded on truth, in which the Romanian people can see reflected their way of life and of thinking. History as a science must be a genuine guide for social-political practice, a source of learning, and an inspiration for the development of the historical and political consciousness of the new man. "Historical research," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "far from being a strictly documentary investigation of the past, is to a large extent—as life has proven—a science of the present, too. History provides conclusions and lessons concerning the major processes of social development and of national existence over time, and highlights both what was valuable and progressive and promoted the progress of the society, and the obstacles encountered in the process of evolution, which exacted a high price from humanity and delayed the progress of certain nations." (Footnote 3) (Nicolae Ceausescu, *ibid.*, "Romania ..." Vol 6, p 423) The results of historical research can help contemporary mankind to better understand the objective laws that govern society and the need to act in the spirit of the requirements of progress. Similarly, through its conclusions, history can help improve the organization of the present-day society, the relations among states and nations, and peaceful cooperation among all the peoples of the world. (Footnote 4) (*Ibid.*, pp 423-424)

From the perspective of the direct link between the science of history and social-political practice, the party documents and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's works highlight the deep roots of the development of a human society in the Carpathian-Danubian-Black Sea area, as attested by countless traces of culture and civilization. "The facts," our party-state leader stressed, "show that all the social systems known in mankind's history succeeded one another in the course of millennia on what is today's Romania, and that the Romanian people's history is the history of the development of the production forces and of production and social relations, of struggles for social and national liberation, against foreign invasion and domination, and for freedom and independence." (Footnote 5) (*Ibid.*, Vol 13, Bucharest 1977, p 34) A scientific analysis, done in a spirit of dialectical and historical materialism, of the formation and development of the Romanian people and the Romanian nation shows that—as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu repeatedly emphasized—all the changes can be subsumed in an extensive revolutionary program of heroic struggles to defend our own existence, to develop and forge the nation, for freedom and independence, and for economic and social progress. In the course of this unique and coherent, dialectical, and objectively determined process, simultaneously with legendary struggles for freedom and independence, great struggles took place against social oppression, for the revolutionary transformation of the production forces and social relations, and for the socioeconomic progress of the fatherland. This highlights the close interdependence and the dialectical unity between the struggles for national freedom and

independence, those for social justice and for the revolutionary and rejuvenating transformation of the society, and the revolutionary struggles in our country and in other countries, the cooperation and solidarity between the Romanian progressive movements and the international struggles for independence and social progress.

A distinctive place is given in the party documents and in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's works to the history and civilization of the Geto-Dacians. Referring to events that occurred over 2,500 years ago, the great historian Herodotus described them, as is known, as "the bravest and the most just among the Thracians." Dacia went through a period of great socioeconomic development, which peaked under Burebista, the founder of the first centralized independent Geto-Dacian state, and later under Decebal, the legendary hero who became the symbol of courage and self-sacrifice in the defense of freedom and independence.

It has also been stated that the level of culture and civilization attained by the Geto-Dacians was particularly advanced, as a result of the development of the production forces, their spirit of inventiveness, and their industriousness. However, "this positive evolution of the Dacians was enhanced by extensive relations of mutual influence with the great ancient Greek, Persian, and Roman civilizations." (Footnote 6) (Ibid., Vol 14, p 318)

After the Dacian-Roman wars, in which "the heroic struggle of the Dacians elicited great praise from the ancient historians," Dacia was conquered and became a Roman province. Like any other conquest, this "also had tragical consequences for the Dacians," but, "through the close interweaving of the two civilizations, which coexisted for a long period of time, the economic, social, and cultural life in these parts underwent a new and marked progress," and "the union of the Dacians and the Romans produced, in the course of centuries, a new people, vigorous and energetic, who inherited the great values and traditions of their glorious ancestors—the Romanian people. From the Dacians they took an unquenchable thirst for freedom and the determination not to bow under foreign yoke and to remain sole masters of their own life and destiny, and from the Romans rational spirit, judgment, and creative passion. Thus, the newly created Romanian people fulfilled, throughout a 2,000 year long existence, a heroic, troubled, and majestic historical destiny, continuously developing and strongly asserting themselves among the peoples and nations of the world." (Footnote 7) (Ibid., pp 318-319)

Some foreign authors have claimed and continue to claim that in the years 271-275, under the pressure of the great migrations, Emperor Aurelianus moved the entire population living north of the Danube south of it. However, a scientific analysis of the sources shows that only the army, the administration, and part of the population was withdrawn. Archeological discoveries,

and the coins and inscriptions that have been found prove the continuous existence of our people, who stayed to defend their soil and their common interests in their ancestral land. As the party secretary general stressed, "Even in the most difficult times, our ancestors did not leave their native land, but, becoming one with it, with the mountains and plains, rivers and proud forests, they remained unwaveringly here, defending their being and their right to a free existence." (Footnote 8) (Ibid., Vol 24, p 14)

The continuous existence and united development of the Romanian people are also demonstrated by the manner in which their feudal statal organization was achieved. Organized along valleys and waterways, between mountains, and in other favorable locations, the Romanian principalities and vojvodships constituted the forms of organization of one and the same nation. From those smaller statal forms, they later progressed to a higher form of organization and larger states, forming the three medieval principalities—the Romanian countries of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania—which were born and developed in the struggle against foreign domination and for the aim of uniting into a strong state, able to withstand foreign invasions and to ensure its independent existence.

The level of socioeconomic development that determined the political-statal organization of the Romanian people could not possibly have been preceded by a "historical vacuum;" on the contrary, it, too, demonstrates the continuity and the deep roots of the Romanian people in their ancestral land. Denying the false theory of the "population vacuum," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu states: "To all those who want to understand how our nation was born and how it developed, we say: Look at the conclusions of research and archeological digs, read the works of the great scholars of the time, and you will understand how the Romanian nation was born and how its culture and language were formed." Here, in the territory that is still inhabited by the Romanian nation, there was never a population vacuum; the vacuum is only in the political consciousness of certain foreign historians. As far as they are concerned, "the best retort is reality, the fact that none of the migratory peoples were able to displace the people created here, and that the heirs of the Dacians and Romans, the new people that asserted their own entity, developed continuously and remained the true and only masters of old Dacia." (Footnote 9) (Ibid., Vol 22, 1982, p 8)

In their ascending evolution, upon the foundations of the unraveling old social structures, the Romanian people built new economic, social, and political-institutional structures specific of the medieval period. The Romanians continued their common existence. They organized, developed, and struggled so as to live in freedom and independence. During that period emerged the self-awareness of our people, an awareness of their continuity and of the unity of origins and culture of all the inhabitants of the three principalities.



Our party documents often stress the particular historical significance of the establishment and development of the political structures of the Romanian independent feudal states, and the fact that they had been achieved under difficult conditions and had been forced to preserve their existence by struggling against the domination or conquest aspirations of three empires: the Ottoman Empire, the Hapsburg Empire, followed by the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, and the Czarist Empire. An important point for the assertion of those aspirations was the period of Mircea the Great who, through a policy of capitulations, opened up a special period in the Romanian-Ottoman relations.

On the basis of what the Romanian states had achieved under the autonomy regime, they established the objective of complete independence, continuously promoted by the Romanian people, along with that of national unity. In 1600, for the first time since the Dacia of Burebista and Decebal, the three Romanian states—Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania—achieved political unity under Mihai the Brave. Although that historic event was short lived, “the idea of the unification of the Romanian states and the ideal of forging a strong state on the Dacian territory,” Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, “were never destroyed, because they were deeply rooted in the very blood, consciousness, and spirit of all our people!” (Footnote 10) (Ibid., Vol 11, 1975, p 694) Despite obvious historical and national realities, some historians attempted and still attempt to claim that the unification of the three Romanian states under Mihai the Brave was an expression of the “conquest policy” of the great Romanian ruler. In reality, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu showed, “History itself has confirmed the correctness and objective necessity of the act of Mihai the Brave by the subsequent fulfillment of his ideal—the ideal of all the Romanians—the establishment, in the modern times, of the united national Romanian state. That is why Mihai the Brave remains a luminous and progressive figure in the golden book of the Romanian people.” (Footnote 11) (Ibid., Vol 11, p 692)

Overturning the historic unification of 1600, the Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires reinforced their domination, without, however, succeeding to eliminate the autonomy of the Romanian states. In spite of all the obstacles, in the following centuries the economic and cultural relations between the Romanian states intensified increasingly, contributing to the growing assertion of the Romanian people’s wish for unification; an increasing number of books were printed for “all the Romanian souls,” and “for the education of all the Romanians.”

The party documents highlight and carefully document the thesis that one of the characteristic traits of the development of the Romanian people in the Middle Ages, as well as in the modern times, was that of the close unity between the struggle for social freedom, and the struggle and consistent efforts for unity and national

freedom and independence. “The great social and national liberation movements,” Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, “such as the uprising of Horea, Closca, and Crisan, Tudor Vladimirescu’s revolution, the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the Unification of 1859, the 1877 war of independence, the peasants’ revolt of 1907, and countless other social and national battles undeniably demonstrate the dialectical unity between national and social struggles and the fact that, simultaneously with defending their ancestral land and their existence, our people resolutely struggled for social freedom and justice, and for being full masters of their destiny.” (Footnote 12) (Ibid., Vol 29, 1987, pp 450-51)

It has also been noted and resolutely stressed, as a very valuable historical and political conclusion, that “The foreign domination and the reality of the neighboring empires at times delayed the people’s socioeconomic development and the formation of the Romanian nation and the united national state. However, those adverse circumstances failed to prevent the fulfillment of the Romanian people’s aspiration, based on a common origin, to overcome any difficulties and to emerge victorious by asserting themselves as a free and independent nation, forging a united national state, and beginning to build a socialist society. From the long and painful history of the Romanian people one can draw the more general conclusion that foreign domination and occupation, however long, cannot prevent a people from manifesting their common interests, preserving their specific traits, and establishing a nation and a united national state. These are objective laws in the development of any people.” (Footnote 13) (Ibid., Vol 24, p 15)

Through the party documents, which reflected the orientations and wide political-ideological opening up that followed the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965, the contribution of the great personalities who led our people’s struggle for unity, justice, and freedom was reconsidered for the purpose of the history of the Romanian people’s development.

The party documents and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu’s works assign a special place to modern and contemporary history, whereby stress is placed on the national and social revolutions of 1784 and 1821, the 1848-49 revolution, the Unification of 1859, the reforms of Alexandru Ioan Cuza and the establishment of the modern Romanian national state, and the winning of national independence in 1877—salient historical events that “promoted the progress of the society and the growth of the country’s production forces.” (Footnote 14) (Ibid., Vol 1, 1968, p 341)

Of a great importance is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu’s thesis concerning the unfounded claims of certain historians and economists that by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century Romania had entered the stage of monopolist capitalism, thus becoming an imperialist state. That claim led to the erroneous conclusion that Romania’s participation in World War I was of an

imperialist nature. In reality, although "World War I had been an imperialist war, the Romanian people did not enter it for the purpose of invasion and territorial annexation." (Footnote 15) (Ibid., Vol 2, p 467) The Romanian people acted for unification with the Romanian provinces which were still under foreign domination, so that "Our country's participation at the side of this coalition (the Entente) coincided with the ardent wish of the masses to unite with Transylvania and to forge the united Romanian state." (Footnote 16) (Ibid., Vol 3, 1969, p 713) The great event of the Unification of December 1st 1918, together with those that preceded it—the unification of Bessarabia and Bukovina with the Romanian state—and all the circumstances surrounding it "categorically demonstrate the fact that the Unification was not accidental, the fortuitous effect of favorable circumstances or of agreements reached at the negotiating table, but the outcome of the resolute struggle of the widest strata of the people, an act of profound national justice, and the fulfillment of a logical accord between objective reality and the inalienable rights of the people on the one hand, and the national framework demanded by this reality. The subsequent peace treaty only sanctioned the de facto situation and the situation created by the struggle of the masses." (Footnote 17) (Ibid., Vol 17, 1979, p 275)

A prominent place in the modern development of the Romanian people is reserved for the emergence of the workers class, the consistently revolutionary social force, to the early professional and political organization of its ranks, the phenomenon of the acceptance and creative development of the theory of scientific socialism, the significance and role of the party, established in 1893, in the social-political life of the country, the contribution of the Romanian socialists to the revolutionary theory and practice, and to the bright traditions of international solidarity forged by our revolutionary and democratic movements. The party secretary general emphasized along this line that "The revolutionary workers movement and the RCP assumed the historical mission of defending the national interests and the country's independence and sovereignty, and at the same time, of eliminating once and for all the bourgeois-landowners' oppression and exploitation and achieving a society of social and national justice, socialism, and communism in Romania." (Footnote 18) (Ibid., Vol 29, p 451)

Drawing its inspiration from the multimillenary history of the Romanian people and as the legitimate successor of the Romanian revolutionary and socialist movements and the representative of the workers class and of the most progressive political forces, the RCP—ever since its establishment in May 1921—asserted itself as an organic and essential part of the social-political life and of the entire modern and contemporary history of the country. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "We must understand that our party does not stand outside the nation and the people, that our nation has a single history, and that our party was born in the social struggles and within the history of the people; its history

is the history of our nation, and thus the nation's history is the only history that must reflect the entire development of our people." (Footnote 19) (Ibid., Vol 24, p 68)

Contemporary history is amply reflected in the party documents that followed the ninth congress and in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's works. Referring to that period, the theses and scientific views formulated pursued the need to make certain important clarifications, such as: the unitary character of the Romanian state established under the 1918 unification acts; the consolidation of the unification and the Romanian people's endeavors to defend their territorial integrity and national independence and sovereignty under attack by the revisionist and fascist forces; the socioeconomic development of the country in the period between the two world wars, and the nature of the social-political regime in Romania before 23 August 1944, etc. A special place was given to the development of the workers movement as part and parcel of the history of the Romanian people, within which priority was given to the interpretation of the historic significance of the establishment of the RCP "as a crucial moment in Romania's history," which "crowned the lengthy process of maturation, ideological clarification, and political organization covered by our workers movement after the establishment, in 1893, of the Social-Democratic Party of the Romanian Workers." (Footnote 20) (Ibid., Vol 5, 1971, p 798)

Referring to our contemporary history, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted the existence of two distinct periods in the evolution of the RCP. The first was between 1921 and 1944, and the second from 23 August 1944 to the present. In the first period, the party "covered an important process of organizational and ideological formation and maturation, and of strengthening its ties to the broad popular masses" (Footnote 21) (Ibid., Vol 29, p 451), during which it asserted itself in the organization and leadership of the mass struggles both at the social level and in defending the territorial integrity and the national independence and sovereignty against fascism and revisionism. "Significantly," the party secretary general stressed, "all the major class struggles unfolded in unity, under the banner of the United Workers Front and of cooperation among the communists, socialists, and social democrats, as well as with other antifascist, progressive, and democratic forces." (Footnote 22) (Ibid., Vol 29, p 452) The same distinctive trait characterized the heroic antifascist struggle of the Romanian people—when the National Antifascist Committee was chaired by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—a struggle that culminated in the great antifascist, antirevisionist, and antiwar demonstration of 1 May 1939, in the organization of which a decisive role was played by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu.

Under the Antonescu dictatorship, when Hitlerite Germany imposed the heinous fascist dictate of Vienna by which a part of the fatherland's territory was torn away

and given to Horthy Hungary, the RCP was the political force that resolutely rose to defend our borders, calling upon all the people to struggle against the dismembering of the country, for defending the integrity, independence, and sovereignty of the fatherland, and against Nazi Germany, fascism, and war. "In these difficult times for the very existence of our nation," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "the RCP threw all its forces into organizing the struggle against the war, for pulling Romania out of the alliance with Hitlerite Germany, and for joining the Soviet Union and the antihitlerite coalition." (Footnote 23) (Ibid., Vol 29, p 453)

The party documents firmly stress the place and role of the RCP in organizing the antifascist resistance, and the flexible policy of the communists aimed at gradually achieving a broad coalition of social-political forces: "The establishment of the United Workers Front and the Democratic Front, and the contacts with the army and the Supreme Command, as well as with other national forces, created the necessary conditions for beginning the armed insurrection and for the victory of the anti-imperialist and antifascist revolution of social and national liberation." (Footnote 24) (Ibid., Vol 22, pp 17-18)

The second period in the life of the party began with the 23 August 1944 insurrection, which marked the beginning of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation that "ended Romania's participation in the war at the side of Hitlerite Germany, and led to the entire Romanian army joining the war against Nazism, for the complete liberation of the country, and for defeating fascism;" at the same time, it "opened up the way for great revolutionary and democratic changes in our country. The victory of the revolution for social and national liberation marked the beginning of a new period in the party's activities and in Romania's independent development." (Footnote 25) (Ibid., Vol 29, p 453)

The workers class' revolutionary struggle for the revolutionary-democratic transformation of the country during the period between August 1944-December 1947, culminating in the proclamation of the republic, opened up an era of great economic and social changes in Romania's history.

In the years that followed the unity of the workers class and the democratic forces was consolidated, and the united party of our workers class was created in 1948. "Thereby," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "an end was put to the temporary schism and a united revolutionary party was established, a party that assumed the role of leading the people along the path of socialism and communism, independence and sovereignty." (Footnote 26) (Ibid., Vol 29, p 455)

During the socialist period profound changes occurred in the country's life, in its economic, social, political, and cultural structure. Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country with a powerful and modern industry,

equipped for the most part with the most advanced technology, and with a flourishing socialist agriculture. At the same time, science, education, and culture have greatly developed. As a result of these structural changes, an unshakable unity has been forged around the party. The Romanian nation has acquired new traits and an increasingly high degree of unity, based on the existence of friendly social classes and strata which share the same basic aims and interests, and on the resolute assertion of the revolutionary concept of the world and of life.

The great achievements attained over a period of more than 40 years of energetic work—during which the two decades since the ninth congress and since Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was elected leader of our party clearly stand out—tellingly illustrate the correctness of the policy of our communist party—the leading political force of the nation—which is honorably fulfilling its historic mission of leading the Romanian people toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization.

Looking back on the almost 23 years since the ninth congress—which marked a new, objectively determined stage in the process of socioeconomic development of the country—what prominently stands out is the originality and realism of the solutions adopted by our party to develop and modernize the economy, ensure efficiency in all activities, improve the democratic framework of active participation of all the people in the socioeconomic leadership, and shape the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. As a result of the resolute implementation of the political line mapped out by the ninth congress and by successive congresses and national conferences, Romania attained great achievements in increasing and modernizing the production forces and consistently pursuing industrialization, as well as in developing the other economic sectors, something that ensured the necessary conditions for raising the people's living standard, attaining a higher level of civilization for the entire society, and bolstering the fatherland's material and cultural strength and national independence and sovereignty.

Life and historical experience have verified and continuously verify the fact that the RCP never had and does not have higher goals and loftier aims than to serve the workers class and the people out of which it was born and to whom it belongs, and the cause of socialism and peace and cooperation among nations. That is precisely why the party has won a well deserved prestige and enjoys the complete trust of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, all the working people, and the entire nation.

Simultaneously with the revolutionary changes that have occurred in the society, the party itself has gone through rejuvenating, qualitative changes in keeping with the historical stages traveled, the requirements of the present, the new realities and demands of life and of the development of the Romanian society and the international life. Currently, the RCP is a united and strong

mass party; it is the vital core of the nation and the mobilizing and dynamizing force of the people's energies along the path of socialism and communism. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "The party is the nucleus around which gravitates the entire society and from which radiate the energy and light that propel and ensure the functioning of the entire machinery of the socialist system. In its turn, the party is continuously regenerated by the impulse of the powerful bursts of energy and light permanently directed to it from the ranks of our socialist nation." (Footnote 27) (Ibid., Vol 4, 1970, p 314)

Rather frequently, foreign historians bring out works referring to the past of our nation in the form of either world history monographies or studies specifically devoted to the history of the Romanian people. Many of these works present our past objectively, as it appears in historical sources. Others, however, denigrate our history by manipulating data from the past and using documentary material in a biased manner.

Referring to the non-scientific and slanderous works appearing abroad concerning the history and achievements of the Romanian people, the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, stated: "We are not particularly concerned, and never have been, about the fact that certain imperialist reactionary circles consciously distort the achievements and work of our people. They do so because of their class interests. It is, however, incomprehensible that such works should appear in a socialist country.... It is difficult to understand why Horthyst, fascist, chauvinist, even racist theses should be revived. How is it possible that an Academy of Science should sanction studies and works that are insulting to other nations? What kind of science is that? Whose interests are served by this so-called science, other than the most reactionary imperialist circles? There is nothing in such theses that can serve the cause of friendship and cooperation, or the cause of socialism!" (Footnote 28) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Joint Meeting of the Councils of Working People of Hungarian and German Nationality," 27 February 1987, Political Publishing House, Bucharest, 1987, pp 17-19)

In the past few years the Romanian historians have responded on several occasions. Naturally, the best retort to theories which, allegedly proceeding from historical facts question the Romanian state borders, is to write sound, well documented, and soundly argued works dealing with the controversial subjects and periods, and this is one of the most important tasks of all the Romanian historians.

A detailed documentation of the scientific approach to the history of the Romanian people and of the revolutionary workers movement and of the need to handle the fatherland's history in a coherent manner was contained in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report at the expanded session of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982. The report emphasized the need for writing a coherent

and uniform history "that should appropriately describe each stage of socioeconomic development, each historical period with its social struggles and political activities, and should depict, in the light of truth based on facts and documents, both the role of the social classes and the people, and that of various state leaders and political, scientific, and cultural figures." (Footnote 29) (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania..." Vol 24, p 67) Viewed in this light, the clear conclusion is that our party emerged and developed not outside, but within the people, that our nation has a single history, that the communist party was born of the Romanian people's struggles for social and national liberation, that the nation's history incorporates the history of the workers movement and of the communist party, and that, consequently, the RCP's activities at various periods of time, like those of other parties, are an inseparable part of the single, coherent history of the fatherland. Criticizing the utterly wrong view—a sequel of some of the outdated concepts of the Third International—that "two parallel histories" exist, one of the communist party and one of the country, the party secretary general stressed that our national history must be viewed as one, as the single history reflecting the entire development of the Romanian people.

In the spirit of these orientations, the works of history brought out in the 1982-87 period present the history of the Romanian people as a single and coherent history. This fact demonstrates a greater concern with presenting the history of the Romanian people from the most ancient times to the present in a coherent manner; dealing with the history of the entire area inhabited by Romanians and depicting the economic, political, social, and cultural development of the people; presenting, within the context of the history of the Romanian people, the struggles of the workers class and its political party, the RCP, and of the Romanian revolutionary and democratic movements. These orientations constitute the foundation of all historical research, writing, and teaching.

In view of the long-term theoretical and practical orientations of the party's ideological program adopted by the expanded plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 and approved by the party national conference of the same year, the 13th RCP Congress of 1984 decided that this program should become an integral part of the program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's progress toward communism.

The concept concerning the single and coherent history of the Romanian people, the historical roots of the communist party, and its role in the history of our people has been enriched with new and important theses in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's masterly reports and speeches, which guide the work of the Romanian historians.

Ensuring that historical research and writing remain highly scientific and in close accord with life and with the evolution of the policy guiding our people, the

historians are duty bound to shape and develop in the working people an undying love for the people's past struggles, for the RCP, for the great achievements of the "Ceausescu Era," and for the leader of our party and state, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. By developing such strong patriotic feelings they will ensure that the new generations understand the scientific truth of the people's and the party's glorious past struggles. "Within the framework of the socialist education of the masses," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "familiarity with one's own history is an important factor for developing the people's self-awareness and their knowledge of what was progressive and truly revolutionary in their past, as well as what was retrograde and must be combated." (Footnote 30) (Ibid., Vol 13, pp 71-72)

In the current, particularly complex international conditions, as Romania's President Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "The most important obligation and responsibility of the historians is to study the evolution of the society and historical events, and to extract from the enormous wealth of experience accumulated through the ages lessons and conclusions capable of enriching our present and future activities and of promoting people's advancement along the path of civilization, for the benefit of peace and progress for all humanity." (Footnote 31) (Ibid., Vol 20, 1981, p 336)

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#### **Party Journal Evaluates Belgrade Balkan Conference**

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[Article by Dr Lucian D. Petrescu: "Conversion of the Balkans to an Area of Peace and Neighborly Cooperation as an Aid to International security and Peace"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The recent meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers in Belgrade and the agreements reached there are an event of outstanding importance, demonstrating that it is possible and necessary to work for new relations among all the Balkan countries."

The dates of 24-26 February 1988 are unquestionably a landmark in the Balkan peoples' history, denoting an event that is important to the respective peoples and also has profound European and worldwide implications. The proceedings of the meeting of all the Balkan countries' ministers of foreign affairs were held during those days in Belgrade, the first meeting of that kind in the postwar period.

The organization and conduct of the meeting were made possible by the general changes in Europe in the last few decades, especially since the Final Act of Helsinki was

signed, and by the major changes in inter-Balkan relations, which have been based more and more consistently on the new, democratic principles of international relations.

And this time experience has proved its persuasive power. The lessons of the so troubled history of the peoples in this area, on the borderlines of the great empires of the past and, since the latter were broken up, in the area of the interests of the various powers outside the Balkans, demonstrate the bad effect of the policy of keeping the Balkans in a constant state of tension and friction causing numerous confrontations and open conflicts, as a veritable "powder keg" of Europe liable to explode at any time. But it is equally clear that in spite of that policy the Balkan peoples' vital common interests, their spirit of mutual aid and their aspirations to freedom run like a red thread throughout their whole existence. They have preserved their national identities intact, always rising with fearless resolve to the fight for independence and writing stirring pages of solidarity in defense of their legitimate right to independent existence. It is from these historical facts that the Balkan peoples' spirit of collaboration and dialogue and their present aspirations to peace and progress draw their strength.

The recent foreign ministers' meeting in the Balkans bears out the correctness of the stands and actions taken over the years by Romania and its president, Nicolae Ceausescu, in order to redouble the efforts to establish a climate of good will, widespread collaboration and good neighbors in the Balkans and to make that region one without nuclear or chemical weapons and without foreign military bases and troops, as a vital, integral part of a permanent system of security and cooperation in Europe and the world. In the Romanian view, productive and cooperative good-neighbor relations established in the Balkan Peninsula are to apply to all aspects of the activity and collaboration of the states in the area, political, military, economic, cultural, scientific etc.

Romania's proposals and initiatives for the Balkans are parts of a homogeneous and all-inclusive plan to promote collaboration and good-neighbor relations, primarily in view of the political aspect and the historically determined necessity of that cooperation, as well as the priority considerations of the present stage, especially the economic and commercial ties among the Balkan countries.

As we know, formation of an area of peace, good neighbors and friendly collaboration in the Balkans, without nuclear or chemical weapons, is one of the main points in socialist Romania's foreign policy, and it has been pursued and applied by Romania with unflinching consistency since the Ninth Party Congress especially, and fully substantiated in theory and through Nicolae Ceausescu's practical efforts. In his reports to the party congresses and national conferences, in his speeches from the rostrum of the United Nations, the high-level

meeting at Helsinki and other international forums, in his frequent high-level meetings and on other occasions as well, the party secretary general and president of the republic distinguished himself as a brilliant militant for the cause of friendship among the Balkan peoples and made an inestimable contribution to its promotion.

Romania and its president have been militating consistently by bi- and multi-lateral collaboration in the Balkans and have advanced a number of proposals to strengthen peace, good-neighbor relations, confidence and collaboration among all the countries in that region on the principles of equality, observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, and every nation's right to a free development according to its own will and aspirations.

It may be said that the recent progress in improving the political climate in the Balkans is directly dependent upon the progress made in asserting those principles more and more emphatically and upon the growing understanding of the fact that their strict observance alone can establish a spirit of good will and friendly cooperation.

Based on those fundamental principles, Romania's proposals, initiatives and procedures in the Balkans have exerted a powerful political influence, made an outstanding and unquestionable contribution to improvement of the Balkan political atmosphere, and helped to prepare the ground and to develop increasingly broad paths to collaboration among all states in the area. To our complete satisfaction, we find that Romania has good relations today with all the Balkan countries.

These relations are graphically illustrated by Nicolae Ceausescu's approximately 90 meetings with the chiefs of state or government in Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey and the documents, accords and agreements concluded on those occasions, which opened up extensive prospects for bilateral collaboration. The Iron Gates I and Iron Gates II hydroelectric power complexes built in collaboration with Yugoslavia, the Giurgiu-Ruse Heavy Equipment and Machinery Enterprise built in collaboration with Bulgaria, the agreement with Bulgaria for joint construction of the Turnu Magurele-Nicopole and Calarasi-Silistra hydroelectric power plants on the Danube, the cooperative programs concluded with Greece and Turkey, and the development of exchanges with Albania as well as the construction of an oil refinery there are graphic evidence of the collaboration and good will established between Romania and the Balkan countries.

Romania has also worked very consistently for development of multilateral collaboration among the Balkan countries in all fields, both through some initiatives of its own and by participating in a number of governmental or nongovernmental programs implemented in other countries in the region.

In view of all that had been accomplished and the need of opening up new and extensive prospects for development of collaboration, good-neighbor relations, good will and security, in 1982 the president of Romania proposed a high-level meeting of the Balkan states as vital political objective.

Romania helped to convene the first meeting of the Conference of Balkan Countries on the expert level, held in Athens in 1984. It took up all aspects of Balkan collaboration, including measures to make the Balkans an area free of nuclear weapons.

The Romanian-Bulgarian initiative to make the Balkans an area free of chemical weapons had a wide international impact. On the basis of that initiative, a meeting of experts was held in Bucharest in 1986 at which Romania presented the draft of a solemn declaration proclaiming the Balkans an area free of chemical weapons.

In working for development of economic and trade relations among the Balkan states, Romania has been advocating their conduct without restrictions and such encouraging measures as reciprocal reduction of customs duties among the countries of the region as a first step toward elimination of barriers to inter-Balkan trade relations. Meanwhile Romania is specially emphasizing expanded economic cooperation by making specific proposals to collaborate on such peak fields of technology as electronics, electrical engineering, machine building and chemistry and also on investigation and exploitation of raw material and energy sources.

Romania has repeatedly expressed its interest in also developing other modern forms of collaboration among the Balkan countries, proposing among other things the formation of mixed companies in various economic sectors and collaboration on communications, rationalized shipping of goods, more intensive use of waterways, development of the automotive transport network, construction of highways, etc.

In view of the enormous changes made by the new technical-scientific revolution throughout the world, Romania has suggested that the other Balkan countries enhance their scientific and technical collaboration, especially through measures to facilitate exchange of peak technologies among those countries. Romania has worked constantly and helped to initiate and organize inter-Balkan meetings on economic and technical cooperation, communications, transportation, energy and energy-bearing raw materials, and industrial cooperation, recommending continuation of such efforts as well as organization of Balkan meetings to expand collaboration in agriculture and the food industry.

Romania's proposals to develop inter-Balkan cultural collaboration in the way of education, youth, information, tourism, sports etc. are well known. Moreover,

Romania has helped to form or reinvigorate some standing specialized bodies for Balkan collaboration, whether governmental or nongovernmental, such as national committees, conferences, unions and associations, feeling that their work is vital to increasingly intensive development and further promotion of the spirit of inter-Balkan cooperation.

We have recently noted to our satisfaction a growing favorable trend in the Balkans toward more intensive collaboration among all the countries in the area both bilaterally and multilaterally, making for closer ties among them. Trends toward normalized relations between Greece and Albania, the start of a political dialogue between Greece and Turkey, closer political contacts among various other Balkan states, and expansion of inter-Balkan cooperation and economic exchanges in various fields of common interest are eloquent testimony of the innovations in the Balkan political climate and reflect the Balkan peoples' aspirations to peace and progress.

Moreover, the realistic and responsible approach to Balkan problems and the political will to hold dialogues among all countries in the area made it possible to hold the recent Belgrade meeting of the Balkan countries' ministers of foreign affairs. Throughout its procedures the meeting made a major contribution to development of inter-Balkan collaboration, mutual understanding, and good-neighbor relations and also to the general cause of peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

The Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee considered the meeting of the Balkan states' foreign ministers and the agreements reached there "an event of outstanding importance, demonstrating that it is possible and necessary to go on working for new relations among all the Balkan countries, which will strengthen confidence and security and consolidate peace and collaboration in that part of the world. The suggestions of Romania and Greece to arrange a high-level meeting in Bucharest of the chiefs of state and government in the Balkan countries were brought up in this connection, and it was pointed out that that is an urgent, vital necessity in order to draw up a general program for expanding economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other fields of collaboration as part of the development of cooperation in Europe and the whole world. In Romania's view this meeting would play a decisive part in development of friendship, multilateral collaboration and good will among all the countries and peoples in the region, would effectively inspire efforts to make the Balkans an area of peace and cooperation, and would qualify as an important advance in the activity of our continent and in the effort toward detente, disarmament, security and widespread international collaboration."

The Political Executive Committee reaffirmed the party and state decision to militate further to promote the spirit of cooperation and dialogue among the Balkan

states and to find new ways and means of expanding collaboration on the most varied levels and of consolidating peace, good-neighbor relations and confidence among all the Balkan countries on the principles of full equality of rights, observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit, and every nation's right to a free development according to its own will and aspirations.

On the political level, the meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers is significant in a number of important respects. In the first place, it should be noted that the meeting was attended by representatives of all six Balkan countries, setting an example of the way countries with different social systems and belonging to hostile military alliances or being neutral and unaligned can overcome a number of obstacles considered insuperable at first if they are inspired by the sincere political will to cooperate in order to establish an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect in a region so troubled in the past. In the second place, the meeting occasioned a free and constructive exchange of opinions on ways and means of expanding collaboration in fields of mutual interest that led to better knowledge of the positions and concerns of each Balkan country and of the ways they can help to establish a permanent climate of confidence, security, collaboration and peace in the area. And in the third place, the meeting's Joint Communiqué reaffirmed the idea of strict observance of the principles that are to govern the new relations among states. The more completely this requirement will be met in practice, by all and for all states, the more progress will be made in building a lasting coexistence in the area.

All this brings out even more clearly the importance of implementing Romania's proposal to arrange a high-level meeting of the Balkan countries, which proposal was updated by the Romanian-Greek declaration on holding such a meeting in Bucharest. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We accordingly regard the Romanian and Greek proposals to arrange a high-level meeting in Bucharest of the chiefs of state and government in the Balkan countries as an urgent, vital necessity in order to draw up a general program for developing economic, technical-scientific, cultural and other fields of collaboration." Such a meeting would be the best way to encourage and secure a fully effective conversion of the Balkans to an area of peace, collaboration and security. The Belgrade meeting analyzed this proposal and decided that it should be further studied in order to arrange for its implementation. And as it was also said in the proceedings of the meeting, a high-level meeting would be a continuation and a natural development of the process of detente in the Balkans.

The meeting brought out the Balkan countries' potential for further strengthening peace and security in the area, emphasizing the proposals to make the Balkans an area free of nuclear and chemical weapons and specifying that they should be given further consideration. Romania has constantly recommended that major aim and considers



liberation of the Balkans from nuclear weapons an urgent action in the vital interests of the Balkan peoples and of all peoples in Europe and the whole world. At the recent meeting Romania also suggested, as a first step in that direction, that the Balkan countries with nuclear weapons on their territories stop emplacing new ones or modernizing the existing ones. Meanwhile Romania has reaffirmed the need of continuing the dialogue about making the Balkans an area free of chemical weapons, particularly at a new meeting on the expert level, for purposes of accepting and ratifying a solemn declaration establishing the will of the Balkan countries not to produce, possess or acquire chemical weapons. Elimination of foreign troops and military bases in the area would undoubtedly be a major forward step toward forming an area of peace and collaboration in the Balkans.

Actual implementation of all those measures would enable the Balkans to set an example worthy of emulation and to encourage formation of denuclearized and dechemized areas of peace and collaboration with no foreign troops or bases in other parts of the continent as well, as an essential component of the process of building European security.

On the economic level, the recent meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers brought out the common interest of all the participants and their desire to expand cooperation, to stimulate trade exchanges, and to promote modern forms of collaboration in sectors vital to the progress of the respective national economies. The need of further use of opportunities to develop cooperation on trade was emphasized, especially on exchanges of goods and services, trade in the border areas, transportation, industry, tourism, banking, energy, science and technology, agriculture and water resources, telecommunications, etc. It was considered useful to found, in Athens, an institute for economic cooperation in the Balkans.

The highly important decision was also made to further inter-Balkan collaboration on culture, health, sports, tourism and information, and environmental protection,

and also to expand contacts among parliamentarians, scientists, journalists etc., which contacts are to lead to increasingly close ties among the Balkan peoples, their better knowledge of each other, and greater confidence and understanding in the area.

The recent Balkan meeting of foreign ministers also produced good results in the effects it will have on the process of establishing a climate of good will and extensive collaboration in the Balkans. For instance, institutionalizing the foreign ministers' meetings by organizing them periodically in each Balkan country in rotation is a major gain. Moreover the decision to convene periodic meetings of higher officials of the Balkan countries' foreign ministries, with the task of studying all proposals and preparing future activities in all fields, is of particular importance. The meeting also recommended some meetings on the ministerial level on the subjects of economics and foreign trade (in Turkey), transportation (in Yugoslavia), and industrial production and transfer of technology (in Romania), as well as a second meeting of government experts on environmental protection (in Bulgaria).

Accordingly, the meeting of the Balkan countries, foreign ministers can be regarded as a considerable contribution to reduction of tensions and creation of a climate of good will and friendship in the Balkans, while serving the cause of peace and security in the region, in Europe and in the world. The meeting and the agreements reached there are an event of outstanding importance, demonstrating that it is possible and necessary to go on working for new relations among all the Balkan countries, which will strengthen confidence and security and consolidate peace and collaboration in that part of the world. The suggestions of Romanian and Greece to arrange a high-level meeting in Bucharest of the chiefs of state and government in the Balkan countries are an urgent, vital necessity, since the meeting can play a critical part in developing friendship, multilateral collaboration and good will among all the countries and peoples in the region.

5186/12913



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Foreign Trade Summarized, Quality Increase Demanded

24000075c Prague *LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE* in Czech  
19 Feb 88 p 1

[Article by Ota Vaclavik: "Improve the Quality of Exports"]

[Text] It is perhaps already obvious to each of our citizens that foreign trade has an enormous importance in our lives. Indeed, almost 40 percent of the national income passes through it and it is clear that our industry, with its traditionally great export potential, needs to export and can thrive only where that is possible. Of course, this is only if it can offer its goods successfully and effectively on the international markets.

The Federal Minister of Foreign Trade, Eng Jan Sterba, recently spoke in Prague on the subject of the balance sheets and tasks of Czechoslovak external economic relationships at a meeting with trade representatives of the diplomatic corps. He emphasized that within the terms of restructuring the economic mechanism we must more rapidly change our economic activities not only within the national economy, but also in foreign trade. Our economy finds itself at the beginning of the restructuring and we are looking for new viewpoints on the economic mechanism and on structural change in the production profile. We must also necessarily look for a change in the structure of its product mix that it offers or buys abroad. This also concerns the socialist countries. Despite the fact that we have annual protocols signed with them for this year, we must be prepared for the consequences of the changes taking place in the domestic and foreign economic conditions in the CEMA countries.

If we compare the turnover of our foreign trade for last year with 1986, we can say that it increased by 2.4 percent. The overall exports grew by 1.4 percent and imports by 3.4 percent. The greatest share of our turnover, 79 percent, was in dealings with partners in the socialist countries. The trade turnover with the nonsocialist countries amounted to 21 percent, which breaks down into 17.5 percent of the total turnover being with partners in the industrialized countries and the share of the developing countries dropping down to 3.5 percent.

Our key partners are the member states of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance. The turnover with them increased by almost 5 percent, while exports rose by 8 percent and imports showed a growth of only 1 percent. The Soviet Union is in first place in Czechoslovak economic relations and its share in our trade with the world amounted to 43.4 percent last year. Even though the mutual trade was affected by the falling prices of Soviet energy raw materials entering Czechoslovakia, there was no drop in turnover, but rather only a slowing of its growth rate. Our exports increased and the planned

goals were slightly exceeded. Our largest trade partner continued to be the German Democratic Republic, with whom we also have well-developed cooperative and specialized joint ventures.

We pay careful attention to the development of trade with nonsocialist countries. We accomplished only a slight increase in Czechoslovak exports in the area of the industrialized countries but in conjunction with rising imports there was a 4 percent increase in the turnover. We can include the increase in Czechoslovak turnover with our largest partners in the area, 7 percent with the FRG and 5 percent with Austria, among the positive features of the foreign trade balance for last year. There were also gratifying increases in trade with Great Britain, Italy, France, Sweden, Finland, Japan, the Netherlands, Greece, and Portugal. However, trade dropped with Switzerland, the United States, Canada, Denmark, Belgium, and some other countries, which is evidence of the fact that here we did not exploit all the opportunities and reserves in commercial work.

Trade with the People's Republic of China remains at a high level and is developing in keeping with the improving climate of economic cooperation between our countries. This was also reflected in an increase in our deliveries to the PRC, which increased by almost 25 percent in 1987.

One cannot, however, overlook the fact that last year our trade with the developing countries dropped. This was despite the fact that our republic, as CSSR Minister of Foreign Trade Eng Jan Sterba said, has always made trade with the developing countries one of the priorities in its approach to the questions of the developing world and considered its contribution to the industrialization of the newly developing countries as a tradition and an obligation. We have not changed this policy and we continue to have a stable rate of trade development with India, Egypt, Algeria, Turkey, Cyprus, Tanzania, Iraq, and Iran. The development of trade with other developing countries is, however, blocked by the inability to pay of a number of such countries, some of which have considerable outstanding financial debts to Czechoslovakia. We cannot permit the exportation of goods anywhere where payment for them is not guaranteed or we do not get a return of value in the form of other goods which we need.

Success in exports, and this has to be emphasized, originates right in manufacturing, however. We have been pointing out for a number of years now and for the same long period various methods have been tried, such as closer cooperation of production with foreign trade to acquire more attractive and higher quality products for export. Sometimes some production organizations were earlier even give the right to carry out foreign trade. But with a few exceptions this did not substantially change the results. As experience has shown, this is definitely not a matter of whether the manufacturer himself trades abroad or whether it is a foreign trade enterprise. The

decisive factor is the technical or usable level of the product which we are offering on the foreign market. To say it another way, the core of foreign trade success depends on what is created by the designers, technologists, technicians, and workers in the production enterprise.

The restructuring of the economic mechanism gives the production enterprises greater independence and room so that they can develop successful entrepreneurial activities. It thus offers all the employees in the enterprise incentives to contribute to the creation of our more effective export capability, which we badly need, because they will profit from the successes achieved.

6285/12232

### **Current Brigade Form of Work, Pay in Agriculture Viewed**

24000066a Prague *EKONOMICKY CASOPIS* in Czech  
20 Nov 87 pp 1034-1042

[Article by Petr Bohm: "Current Situation of Brigade Methods of Organization of Labor and Rewards in Agriculture"]

[Text] The 17th CPCZ Congress emphasized that our economic efficiency must be comprehensively intensified. The future growth of our economic efficiency calls for accelerated practical application of the latest R&D achievements, for mechanization and automation of our production, introduction of new, advanced technology, etc. All this demands continuous scientific improvements of labor organization, greater labor initiative, and upgrading of workers' skills. One of the means to that end is the planning and widespread application of the brigade form of organization of labor and rewards. Without its achievement our agricultural mass production cannot succeed.

These challenges of our day determine the topic of our contribution: To explain the principles and the significance of brigade forms of organization of labor and rewards in our agriculture, to outline the methodological procedures for the implementation of the brigade form of organization of labor and rewards, and to identify and critically review the shortcomings in the application of this new method of organization of labor and management of work teams in our socialist agriculture.

### **I. Significance of the Brigade Form of Organization of Labor and Rewards**

The material contents of the brigade form of organization of labor and rewards are defined in the "Principles of the CSSR Government and the Central Council of Trade Unions for the Introduction of Brigade Forms of Organization of Labor and Rewards," and in the

"Instructions for the Implementation of Brigade Forms of Organization of Labor and Rewards" approved by the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] secretariat on 1 April 1985.

The brigade method is defined as utilization of the work team's creativity on the basis of the team's active participation in the planning, organization and fulfillment of tasks, enforcement of the advantages of labor team organization, interaction between the economic management and the team (brigade), and within the team, intensification of socialist attitudes to work, and material incentives which depend on the achievements of the whole labor team and on the contribution of individual members of the team to those achievements.

The above-mentioned "Principles" also set a goal for the brigade method of organization of labor and rewards, which is defined as the achievement of the highest possible growth of labor productivity, economy, quality, efficiency of production, and accelerated practical implementation of R&D advances.

Labor teams—brigades—practice self-management which should be understood within the framework of the enterprise subdivision *khozraschet*; in other words, it is implemented to the extent stipulated in the plan for brigades in both qualitative and quantitative indicators. Specification of individual tasks for the labor team plans an important role in the specification of the plan, so that the brigades may present a creative counterplan while promptly and directly fulfilling their brigade plan.

If the brigade plan is not fulfilled, the team workers lose interest in the fulfillment of their tasks, their initiative suffers, and thus, their accomplishments founder.

The key to a prompt and direct approach is for the brigades to become familiar with the plan even before the team begins to carry out its tasks whose fulfillment and overfulfillment determine certain rewards.

Thorough specification of the planned tasks sets the direction for the brigade's socially beneficial work and thus, it does not conflict with individual interests of the members of the brigade. Brigades must emphasize that negotiations take place in an atmosphere of common interest, under the effect of joint decisions, control and greater individual discipline; their point of departure is the awareness that under such circumstances, the team's attitudes are different than if the tasks were assigned by the order of the manager.

Orders which prevailed in previous systems of management were replaced in the brigade method of organization of labor and rewards by contracts concluded by the labor team and the management of an agricultural enterprise; the team uses counterplanning to fulfill joint tasks.

This means better participation of workers in the management and consequently, also material incentives which stress an individual's contribution to joint accomplishments.

The workers elect the foreman of the brigade from their own ranks. Because his position in the organizational capacity involves political influence on the team, the foreman must be a person of high moral character and leadership qualities, and at the same time, an individual whose natural authority can affect the team.

One must realize that the implementation of the brigade method of organization of labor and rewards calls for drastic changes in the attitudes of the teams and of individuals in management, because the habits from previous periods must be overcome, the trust of the workers in the new method of labor organization strengthened, and both the vertical and horizontal relations in the brigade improved. All this is reflected in labor discipline which is the indicator of one's attitude to work and which proves the brigade's social maturity. All this must be achieved by more thorough training and mass political action.

For that reason it is of particular importance to pay maximum attention to the planning and implementation of brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards. Before the brigade method is initiated, a plan for the implementation of the brigade method of organization of labor and rewards must be drafted, proceeding from thorough analyses of the technology to be used in production, of labor organization, of the standards and the situation of capital assets, skills, social conditions, standards and implementation of the enterprise subdivision *khozraschet*, and application of administrative mechanisms on the lowest levels of management, the method of efficiency rating, and availability of work forces and cadres. When this plan is completed, the Statutes of Brigades will be drafted. They will have the force of the basic organizational standard for the agricultural enterprise, and will be carried further in the Socialist Contract between the labor team and the management. This contract will be drafted after thorough political and professional preparation; it will specify and include the pledges of the team, the pledges of the management, the method of control, the form of material incentives, etc. By the same token, it should include the method of arbitration of disputes that may occur if the contract is not fulfilled.

Thus, in summary, brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards represent a new contribution to the management and work of labor collectives; they further reinforce the enterprise subdivision *khozraschet* based on contractual relations between a labor team that obligates itself to fulfill specific production tasks of certain quality and of certain standards of labor and material consumption, etc., and between the management which

obligates itself to provide necessary resources, to create conditions for the fulfillment of the stipulated tasks, and to guarantee the agreed-upon rewards.

## II. Experience With the Brigade Method of Labor and Rewards Abroad

At present almost all CEMA states practice the brigade method of organization of labor and rewards. The USSR which has gained the most extensive experience in this respect began to introduce brigade methods of labor already in the late 1950's due to an expanding concentration of its agricultural production. Soviet literature characterizes brigade methods of labor and rewards not only as labor teams jointly fulfilling tasks in production, but as a system which implements changes in the management and organization of labor, planning, material and technical supplies, standardization, and rewards for the work performed. These principles which guide the implementation of the brigade method stem from the USSR law on work teams and on their intensified role in the management of enterprises, institutions and organizations.

This law was followed by a model document, the Statutes of Production Brigade, which analyzes primary rights and obligations that must be observed when the team is organized. The main areas of problems in the statutes concern labor contracts between the economic management and the brigade, assignments of workers of the brigade to other tasks, a worker's exclusion from the brigade, and payments to workers of brigades.

The statutes recommend that the brigades with more (20-30) members organize the so-called brigade council. Its leader is the brigade's foreman appointed upon the motion of brigade members by the manager of the *sovkhoz* (*kolkhoz*) or by his proxy. The foreman of the brigade must be a highly skilled worker who enjoys the greatest authority among the members of his labor team. The brigade, or the brigade council, then deals with issues of better organization within the brigade, with matters of technology and labor discipline, the quality of production, etc. Consultations of the brigade or of the brigade council are called whenever enterprise-wide problems related to the above issues need to be discussed and resolved.

The size of the brigade in the USSR is continuously changing. When the first brigades were organized in the 1950's and 1960's, the number of brigade members was rather high (up to 100 or more persons) due to a lack of technical equipment for comprehensive mechanization. With more mechanical equipment, it was possible to begin a realistic transition to a widespread labor organization of methods of small groups. The so-called family method of labor organization applied in the USSR since 1979 is used in several federal republics and in various branches of agricultural production (such as sheep and cattle raising, production of cotton, tobacco, wine, beets, etc.).

A "family" brigade differs from the team only by the small number of its members who usually belong to one family. In terms of its rights, duties and rewards, it is organized as the above-mentioned team. The main task of the "family" method is an efficient use of the existing production capacities entrusted to the families or to small teams of farm workers.

The situation in the Bulgarian People's Republic is similar. On the current agenda is the solution of problems stemming from the application of the principles of brigade methods of labor organization and enterprise subdivision *khozraschet* in the smallest teams and production units which make possible the most rational and efficient utilization of individual factors in the process of agricultural production. For that purpose small groups and "family" brigades operating according to brigade methods are beginning to be more widely employed.

### III. Analysis of the Current Implementation of Brigade Methods of Organization of Labor and Rewards in the CSSR Agriculture

The experience with the brigade method of organization of labor and rewards thus far has shown that agricultural brigades are organized mainly in livestock production. According to a survey, the number of brigades in this agricultural branch amounted to full 56 percent. Brigade forms of labor organization have succeeded precisely in livestock production, particularly in cattle and hog raising, poultry farming, and milk and egg production, because the line of its products is continuous, the chores do not change all year long, and the team of workers remains the same.

The situation in crop cultivation is far more complex because in the course of the year operations are constantly changing and individual products require work only in a certain season. Therefore, the fluctuations of work teams are far greater than in livestock production. Brigades in crop cultivation shared about 13 percent of all organized brigades. The brigade method of organization of labor and rewards was implemented mostly in branches of crop production which have steady teams of workers, mainly in vegetable and fruit cultivation, orcharding, fruit tree nurseries, viticulture and winemaking, i.e., in specialized operations of crop production. Thus far, brigades have not been organized to any significant extent in individual types of crop cultivation on assigned lots (acreage).

A considerable share (about 31 percent) of brigades has been organized in auxiliary and associated productions. This sector of operations in agricultural enterprises involves organization of small work teams—brigades with a limited extent of operations, mainly construction projects, automobile transportation, fuel storage, repair shops, enterprise dining services, hot-air dryers, production of fodder mixes, seed treatment, manufacture of machinery and equipment, and other associate productions.

The numbers of brigade members differ. Most brigades consist of 3-6, 20-35, or 60-80 members. It should be mentioned that the size of a work team must be determined in accordance with the standard of time consumption and with the standard for the need of services.

In most brigades under discussion the appointed brigade foreman is a skilled worker; however, in recently organized brigade teams, technicians-economists are beginning to predominate among brigade foremen.

The operations and management of the brigades should be based on a system of organizational standards for agricultural enterprises. However, total anarchy prevails in that area. In most cases the statutes of brigades or collective socialist contracts drafted for brigade teams fail to distinguish between the statutes and the contracts. In other instances the activities of the brigade follow the instructions of the chairman of the unified agricultural cooperative and of the manager of the state farm. Regulations concerning the distribution of rewards and instructions on premiums are defined most precisely, which proves that organization of labor fades into the background and only one aspect of the brigade method—reward—appears in the focus of interest of both the work team and the economic management.

The implementation of the brigade method of organization of labor and rewards and the organization of individual brigades have not affected the organizational structure of the agricultural enterprise and failed to influence it in any way. Only when a team was given the status of brigade by the economic or financial center, the new organizational formation thus established did not fit the existing economic structure of the agricultural enterprise.

When implemented, the brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards have produced some positive results. First of all, work teams gained more authority in determining the operational procedures and labor organization, joint control of completed tasks, and the distribution of their share of wages. In some brigades, however, undesirable informal relations spread due to disagreements among workers who tried to reach their goals irrespective of the interests of the enterprise and society. On the other hand, in some brigades labor discipline improved and grew stronger, which was reflected in their observation of the regulations of the work plan, including better use of their work time, better attitudes to the observation of technological procedures, including work standards, and increased interest in good performance.

Furthermore, certain economic indicators, such as growth of labor productivity, lower cost per production unit, and conservation of energy, improved.

In this context, some shortcomings connected with the application of the brigade method should be noted. The transition from traditional methods of organization,

management and rewards to brigade methods is a challenge which demands a responsible approach from all interested managers and team workers. Since 1983, when more brigades were organized, this operation has become very formalistic. When the brigade method was introduced, the methodologic training of managers had not been adequately prepared, and only employees of labor economy sectors took part in programs of political organization, often without the participation of the managers of production sectors in which the brigade method was about to be introduced. Nevertheless, it is known that the implementation of brigade methods requires the participation of staff employees and of sectors responsible for the production and its technological aspects, and also for inputs in the production, which often determine the success of the brigade's performance.

Inadequate training and nonfulfillment of the above requirements are proof that the contents and objectives of the brigade method have not been properly understood, and consequently, the managers have narrowed the brigade methods of organization and rewards to rewards alone.

Inadequate training of managers, poor political and organizational backing of the brigade method, and last but not least, the failure of the management of the agricultural enterprise to fulfill its promise of material and technical supplies often resulted in a situation where some teams cease to work in the spirit of the brigade method.

Many agricultural enterprises have not properly specified their statutes and socialist contracts between labor teams and the management of the enterprise; this leads to a poor definition and observation of mutual rights and duties by the partners.

Furthermore, the expansion of the brigade method depends on thorough preparation and material and technical provisions for the production. Thus far, the preparations have not been equal to practical needs of our agriculture, and even higher agencies failed to provide adequate conditions for them. In terms of material and technical provisions, the greatest shortcomings stem above all from insufficient supplies of needed chemicals, spare parts, and materials for repairs.

Another problem in the implementation of brigade methods is the appointment of brigade foremen. Those chosen from the workers' ranks are unable to fulfill assignments which the management demands. It is extremely difficult to find a worker with such natural authority that he can meet the challenges of his task.

Another area with which the economic management has not come to grips is the observation of technical and economic standards and work norms. Also, the brigade method makes only limited use of the planning and standards of labor, material and energy consumption. An intolerable situation in the planning of work standards is

evident above all in the repairs sector which must revise its norms, primarily those of standard consumption of time spent on individual jobs, because many brigades continue to report better results than the standards stipulate (for example, in overhauls and regular repairs of crushers); this unfavorably affects the still obligatory indicator of fulfilled norms. However, these problems concern better standardization directly in the enterprise sphere.

#### **IV. Measures Proposed for Implementation of Brigade Methods of Organization of Labor and Rewards**

Implementation of brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards cannot be approached arbitrarily, which happens, for instance, if a specific team is chosen without previous preparation and transformed into a brigade without any changes. If a brigade is to prove itself as an advanced method of organization of labor and rewards which implements the principles of team work and better management and practices enterprise subdivision *khozraschet*, it must observe certain principles of organization and management of brigade teams. General outlines of those principles are presented in materials published by the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and by the Federal Ministry of Finances.

In addition, better implementation and greater efficiency of the brigade method of labor organization depends to some degree on correctly specified basic documentation on brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards, particularly on the statutes which will be generally applicable to the whole agricultural enterprise for all organized brigades. After thorough political and professional preparations it will be followed by the specification of the socialist contracts which will include the pledges by the team and by the management, the type of control, the rules of material incentives for the whole work team and for each individual worker, and the method of resolution of potential controversies concerning the operations of the labor team, and so on.

In the near future the further development of the brigade method must be adapted and specified in accordance with the ongoing restructuring of the economic mechanism in our national economy. On principle, the new economic mechanism will make our economic organizations more independent and responsible for the fulfillment of their tasks as well as for their efficient development. In this conjunction it may be expected that the advantages of brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards will be more widely applied.

Brigade methods must observe general principles and procedures of scientific labor organization which will play an increasingly important role. Such principles and procedures of scientific organization of labor must be included in good organizational solutions whose purpose is to achieve such a system of labor and technological

procedures and of material and labor resources that will lead to the most lucrative deployment of work forces, production capital, and materials.

Thus, the development and application of rationalization programs in labor organizations must create conditions for more intensive agricultural production, social labor productivity, and profitability. All this must go hand in hand with systematic material incentives for workers in order to interest them in the achievements of their labor teams.

The program of the entire work team should therefore be focused on better organization of its own operations. Although the labor team must observe the stipulated technological and operational processes, it may focus its program on the most advantageous forms of division of labor in the fulfillment of its tasks, so that each member's know-how and particular skills are used to the best advantage. At the same time, the proposed division of labor should make the best possible use of the knowledge and skills of individual members of the work team.

In this process the brigade team may choose from various forms of direct participation in the organization of its work. The socialist contract between the labor team and the management will specify what a labor team may do within its competence, and what it may do by mediation of its technical and economic superior.

In view of the constantly escalating organizational challenges, these issues must be resolved in cooperation with experts (production organizers, technologists, economists, standardizers, etc.) with direct participation of the members of work teams.

If so understood, the brigade method of organization of labor and rewards represents a method of enterprise subdivision management of labor teams and a form of their administration that accelerates the process of intensification of the socioeconomic development of our society.

## V. Summary

The brigade method of organization of labor and rewards currently introduced in our agriculture is a new type of organization of labor based on applied self-management and self-control of the labor team within the enterprise subdivision *khozraschet*. The brigade method aims to achieve the greatest possible improvement of productivity, economy, quality, efficiency of production and practical application of R&D achievements.

The introduction of brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards utilizes the experience gained in the USSR. Brigade methods are based on contractual relations between a team of workers who obligate themselves to fulfill or overfulfill their planned tasks, on the one

hand, and on the other, the management of an agricultural enterprise which obligates itself to provide the materials needed for the production and to pay rewards for the fulfillment or overfulfillment of the planned tasks.

Brigade methods have been introduced on a large scale since 1983. Due to poor political organization on the part of higher administrative agencies as well as of the enterprise administrative and managerial staff, the organization of brigades and the implementation of a new method of labor organizations have been in many instances formalistic. To avoid such formalism, brigade methods should not be introduced in enterprises which thus far have not provided proper conditions for enterprise subdivision *khozraschet*, and thus, for economic, organizational and cadre requirements, and for potential independent assessment of brigades. That would only promote formalism of brigade methods which would be nothing more than administrative entries in the register of organized brigades.

Nevertheless, shortcomings appear even in the already organized brigades, particularly where the brigade methods have been reduced to mere problems of rewards. However, a fundamental drawback which often hampers the introduction and development of brigade methods is posed by inadequately ensured material and technical production supplies.

Successful implementation of brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards in our agriculture is without any doubt basically determined by properly and thoroughly planned introduction of brigade methods, based on well operating enterprise subdivision *khozraschet* using standardization, a suitable system of indicators, and last but not least, also solid standards of primary evidence.

Only then may we expect that the brigade methods of organization of labor and rewards will not turn into additional chores and burdens for the administrative apparatus of our agricultural enterprises, but that they will fulfill their purpose and that their ultimate achievements will benefit our whole society, labor teams and their members.

At first the new method of management of labor teams will have a simple form. It must overcome numerous difficulties. However, in the future its form will be gradually enhanced, "tuned up" and find a firm place in the economic life of our agricultural enterprises, and in the attitudes and thought of labor teams and their managers.

9004/6091

## POLAND

### **Economic Policies Dictated by 'Fear of Society,' Claims Economist**

26000248b Poznan WPROST in Polish No 9,  
28 Feb 88 p 9

[Statement by Professor Wacław Wilczyński, director, Institute of Economic Policy of Capitalism, Economics Academy in Poznań, delivered at meeting of Polish economists with chairman of Council of Ministers, 25 Jan 87]

[Text] The country's economic situation, prevailing social mood, and prognosticated socioeconomic policy—all of this evokes serious concern both among experts as well as a significant part of our country's aware citizens. For several months now, the public has been awaiting decisions which should set in motion the second phase of the economic reform in a consistent, decisive manner that would propel the economic mechanisms which form the bases for breaking the economic deadlock. Admittedly, an implementational program for the second phase of the reform was announced. However, events occurred concurrently that undermined the entire scope of the reform undertakings. What I have in mind here is not only the failed referendum in which the principle of the conclusiveness of the number of those authorized to vote was adopted and not the number of those voting but, above all, the unfortunate announcement of a price-compensatory move which turned the attention of the public away from the essence of the reform and in the direction of direct, mundane matters: prices and compensation. This situation is disturbing in that in its stand announced as early as in April 1987, the PTE [Polish Economic Society] clearly spoke out against such operations pointing out the social and political dangers as well as the, in this case, inevitable inflationary spiral.

I presented my views on this matter more thoroughly at the ZG PTE meeting at the end of October 1987 and subsequently in articles published in GAZETA POZNANSKA and TYGODNIK KULTURALNY.

Steps that would radically change our economic system are necessary in the situation in which we presently find ourselves. Small steps will not assure us of anything. Partial changes, spreading them out for years into the future will not change the conditions of management and will not change the economic system or practices.

In its current form, the price-compensatory operation will not restore economic balance but will only increase the rate of inflation, ruining the economic account in the process.

Our entire economic policy remains under the influence of fear of public reaction; worrying whether, whom and to what extent the particular reform measures will please or not please just as if they were a matter of choice—as

if they could or could not be implemented; as if the level of prices and revenues depended not on the economic system but on the will of the state. Meanwhile, every passing month of postponing radical changes further increases our foreign debt, intensifies decapitalization, the spending of national assets, and prevents positive changes. We are wasting time. Procrastination is costing all of our society—we cannot afford it even if this society does not fully understand the determining factors and necessities occurring here. Society is such as it is—it does not want to bear the cost of the crisis and does not want to hear about a drop in the standard of living. All the more reason to speak more expressly about the costs of working our way out of the economic crisis and not promise to maintain a realistic standard of living regardless of the objective determining factors. The costs involved in climbing out of the crisis may be quickly compensated for and with a profit by setting in motion a genuinely new economic system capable of expansion. Such a situation in which only a few clearly point out that stopping debts must cost, that stopping further decapitalization must cost, and that restoring balance must cost, cannot continue any longer.

What next? The thesis is generally well known that if the infrastructure of our country were to change even more, a political climate conducive to the general understanding of our situation and to active participation in overcoming the economic impasse would form. I feel that also within the framework of the current political infrastructure, it is possible to introduce an economic system that would prompt or force everyone to rational economic action. But this has to be something we want to do! First of all, we must admit to ourselves that overcoming this situation requires some sacrifice and secondly, we must work to create a logical, tough but promising economic system in which everything is clear and in which there is no room for any voluntaristic practices.

Our system is deeply illogical. For a long time now, there has been no so-called cost barrier in our economic system, i.e., no one is interested in or forced to be concerned about the level of production costs and particularly about lowering them. The Polish National Bank [NBP] has not as yet regained sovereignty over the issuing of currency and continues to be treated as a coffer which can be drawn on without limit. This leads to multiple inflationary effects. This year's expected inflation rate of 40 percent or more would make sense if it were accompanied by the setting in motion of such an economic mechanism that would in the very near future—as early as next year—lead to market equilibrium and thus, to a lowering of the inflation rate. Meanwhile, the currently accepted systems solutions do not forecast this. On the contrary, they delay steps that determine changes in quality and the setting in motion of the market mechanism.

In our political-economic system there is too little economic liberalism and too much liberalism toward various manifestations of disregard for responsibility displayed by inept managers. We tolerate disregard for one's responsibilities. We have bureaus of internal affairs but we do not have order, construction, health, etc. law enforcement. Such violations, which clearly indicate that we have been unable to create a proper infrastructure of orderliness in our country, should not be tolerated.

9853/12913

### **PZPR CC Commission on Agriculture Views Reform Effects**

26000215f Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
28 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] The analysis of the economic results of agriculture with particular emphasis on the shaping of the profitability of agricultural production in the light of the prepared price correction on agricultural products and means for agricultural production was the subject of the meeting on the 27th of this month of the Presidium of the PZPR Central Committee Commission on Agriculture, Food Management and Forestry.

Kazimierz Grzesiak, director of the PZPR Central Committee Agricultural Department, took part in the deliberations.

9853/9604

### **Treasury Department's Role in Price Setting Discussed**

26000250b Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish  
25 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by Zofia Krzyzanowska: "Prices Under Guard"]

[Text] Treasury departments were usually associated with taxes and supervision of income. Currently, they are more and more frequently associated with price control. During the period of increased contract price activity, treasury departments have acquired the protective function of safeguarding the basic interests of the consumer.

As early as October of last year, the minister of finance—in taking advantage of his legal powers—imposed upon units of the socialized economy the obligation of informing treasury departments about planned contract price hikes on industrial goods which are of particular significance to family budgets. The following, among others, have been exempt from this obligation: private manufacturers; "Moda Polska" and "Gallux;" the Cooperative of Disabled Persons; "Cepelia;" units manufacturing gold, silver and silverplated products; atypical products and those sold to so-called special consumers.

The influx of proposals for price hikes began shortly after the ordinance went into effect, i.e., starting in November and growing from month to month. In accordance with the decree of the minister, the treasury departments have the right to take a stand on such proposals within 14 days. If they find the price increase to be insufficiently substantiated or exorbitant, they may request a detailed account or simply express their objection which halts the implementation of the increase for 3 months.

### **Cold Shower**

In January of this year, 26 enterprises notified the Warsaw Treasury Department of their intent to raise prices on 406 consumer goods. Three decisions were issued to halt the increases on 86 products. As a result of talks with representatives of the enterprises, the scale of the increases was lowered on 131 products. The increases were lowered on, among other things, "Stolbud's" construction carpentry from 40 percent to 30 percent, on "Kasprzak's" Radio Plants products from 28-76 percent to 20-25 percent, and on tents from Legionow from 30 percent to 22-25 percent.

During the first 10 days of February, 25 enterprises announced their intent to raise prices on 247 products. Decisions halting the increases were issued by the department with regard to two plants and seven products. Does this constitute a large or small intervention? This is a matter for discussion. But perhaps an even more important issue is its effectiveness.

As already mentioned, the treasury department has the administrative right to stop price increases for 3 months and, therefore, only periodically. A contract price is agreed upon between the producer and business—and these are independent economic units. Very often (although not always), the threat of a periodic price freeze prompts producers and businessmen to rethink their plans in this regard and to look for solutions of compromise. At times, a similar effect is achieved just by expressing reproof. However, the producer may also ignore the department's stand arguing not without reason that what is put off will not, after all, run off. And so it is.

However, it must be said that the responsibility of informing about the intent to raise prices is in many cases an effective deterrent restraining producers' appetites.

### **What About Balance?**

The director of the Warsaw Treasury Department told me of how the Warsaw Television Plants planned on raising the price from the middle of February on the "Helios" television set from 307,000 zloty to 420,000 zloty. This would already be the second price increase, after the December one, on this color television set and



according to the department, glaringly high and unjustified. The manufacturer cited the approval of business which in this case are the Centrum Department Stores with which it had reached an agreement earlier.

The crowning argument for such a high increase was that this was aimed at balancing supply and demand. The speculative prices on "Helios" TV sets continue to be considerably higher than official prices whereas supplies are bought out immediately by agents. According to the unanimous opinion of manufacturers and the Centrum Department Stores, an increase of even 100,000 zloty will not balance this segment of the market.

The treasury department found this argument to be insufficient and asked the WZT for a detailed itemization of per unit costs. It never received such an itemization. Evidently, the WZT have decided to wait knowing that their sales market is assured.

The story of "Helios" brings to mind many thoughts and opens up numerous problems. It points not so much to the limitations of the department's elephantine powers and not so much to the fact that business always turns out to be a poor defender of consumer interests as it does to the fact that in an unbalanced market it is not always possible to determine unequivocally what would be the "fairest" and most justified price.

Not only a price that is too low but also a price that is too high may entail a drastic limiting of the possibilities of purchasing attractive products by average consumers. In this second instance, a low price is conducive to the activity of gangs of speculators who buy out goods from state-run stores and later resell them at "balance prices."

The only thing is that the additional profit feeds the "economic underground." When the "state" price is a balanced price, the additional profit either increases the funds which enterprises involved in the production of widely sought goods may set aside for their expansion or increases the revenues of the state coffers. The closer the budget is to being balanced the closer, among other things, the prospects of stopping inflation.

#### Not Very Precise Criteria

The price accounting that is directed to the treasury department is extremely poor in content. On its basis, it is impossible to decipher, for example, what amount of producer price increases is hidden under the "producer materials costs" entry and what amount is wastefulness. In order to unravel this, the department would have to conduct investigations that would take into account the rationality of materials use, the actual rise in cost, etc. This is not possible in practice nor advisable because in accordance with the assumptions of the second phase of the reform we are supposed to move away from the so-called cost formula of prices, i.e., from prices formed on the basis of the cost of production. This is a formula

that does not promote economizing. However, the second possibility—balance prices—is not always a solution to the problem "for today" if for no other reason than the already mentioned deformation of demand and monopoly of the market.

Therefore, what is the treasury department to follow in its protective activity? Intuition. In other words, accepting the category of the so-called fair price: not too far removed from the cost and not far from the balance—a concept that is somewhat vague and inadequate for practical functioning. However, generally binding resolutions of the Council of Ministers and decrees of the minister of finance serve to define this concept precisely.

#### A Restraining Mechanism

The rise in producer prices must have a bearing on a rise in retail prices—something which does not require any explanations. Therefore, the protective activity should intervene in the sphere of producer prices and their interconnection with retail prices. A principle is already contained in the assumptions of the socioeconomic plan that retail prices are to rise to a lesser extent than producer prices. This is supposed to force economical production. Besides this, the resolution of the Council of Ministers has introduced a ban on raising a part of the contract producer prices during the first quarter of this year. The decree of the minister of finance is still in force with regard to the principles of qualifying a given price as exorbitantly high.

A price is considered to be exorbitantly high if it exceeds a currently set price on a comparable (similar) product by 30 percent. If a contract price (producer or retail) is determined to be too high, the minister of finance may issue a decision to impose upon the seller the obligation to lower this price for a period of no longer than one year.

Recently, a list of basic commodities was published on which the minister of finance has set a limit on the allowable increase in retail prices. These central decisions, whose purpose is to curb the scale of contract price increases, constitute a basis for the treasury departments. They increase their scope of activity and facilitate the assessment of producer proposals and requests.

#### Keeping on Guard

Let us frankly admit to ourselves, however, that the restraints placed in effect on price increases do not create a totally effective system. Despite attempts at defining precisely the concept of a "fair price," the criteria continue to be unclear and the list of commodities with a set ceiling on price increases—rather controversial.

Under conditions of a producers monopoly, industry's supply shortages, inadequate role of trade as an advocate of consumer interests, and the deformation of demand—it is difficult to predict how the situation will develop; to

what extent price independence will stimulate production growth on the basis of a more frugal economy; and to what extent it will cause price movement above a socially admissible level. This is a very important question to which there is no complete answer currently.

Without a doubt, the principal means of restoring market equilibrium is to increase production, the supply of goods and services. Only this can lead to a correct price structure. For the time being, however, under conditions of insufficient supply and limited possibilities of production growth, the supervisory activity of treasury departments has a protective-screening significance. Most certainly, this enables the departments to keep an eye on things, supplying important information about the situation and enables to counteract in advance pathological occurrences on the market.

However, let us once again repeat the postulate which was already published in the columns of TRYBUNA LUDU. Would it not be advisable to modify the system of income taxes, which weighs down on producers, so that those among them who achieve growth in financial income, above all, by means of raising prices and not by production growth and the lowering of its costs, would pay this tax according to a raised, progressive scale? It is possible that at least some of them have given thought to whether operating "through prices" is really worthwhile. Perhaps it would then turn out that there also exist means other than price increases of ensuring production profitability and improving an enterprise's economic condition.

9853/12913

### Conditions for Stocks and Bonds Market Exchange Presented

26000248a Poznan WPROST in Polish  
No 9, 28 Feb 88 pp 4-6

[Interview with Andrzej Dorosz, deputy minister of finances, by Piotr Grochmalski]

[Excerpt] [Question] The world of big business in which the dollar rules appears as something totally unreal to the Pole who runs around with NBP [Polish National Bank] bank notes from store to store in search of goods. Let us, therefore, return to our own situation. The creation in Poland of, among other things, a stocks and bonds market has been written into the assumptions of the second phase of the economic reform. For the time being, however, no one probably knows how to execute this properly.

[Answer] Indeed, we must learn nearly everything practically from the basics. Stocks and bonds are simply a channel for moving accumulated funds within the framework of the economy. An instrument which serves this purpose are in this case, shares or bonds. Thus, until recently the banks and the budget in Poland had a kind of monopoly on the taking over and distribution of

accumulated funds. This monopoly was based on a ban on the granting of credit by state enterprises to each other. Credit relations among private entities were also either practically totally undeveloped or occurred in a very primitive form. I believe that this will change. At the present moment, for example, enterprises may offer each other credit.

[Question] If only in the form of the issuing of shares. For the time being, however, and despite the fact that the decree of the Council of Ministers, which regulates these matters, saw the light of day in November 1985, only one enterprise has taken advantage of this opportunity. The reason is obvious—a whole series of existing restrictions which in practice undermine the sense of the issuing of shares by work establishments.

[Answer] In order for a stocks and bonds market to develop, all of the restrictions which occur within the scope of mutual crediting by the particular types of economic organizational units should be eliminated. And it is my opinion that this will happen shortly. At that time, if the enterprises will begin to issue their own shares or stocks, a problem will occur with their liquidity, i.e., their ability to be resold. It will be necessary then to give thought to creating an institution that would be a go-between in stocks and bonds turnover.

[Question] In China, the first stock exchange in a socialist country was created. Hungary is also preparing to take a similar step. Will we also see a stock exchange in our country?

[Answer] I do not believe that there will be a need for its creation in the foreseeable future. First of all, it is necessary to learn to use the financial instruments. Moreover, the creation of an exchange makes sense when there are goods and the articles of turnover. Therefore, until there will be an appropriate amount of stocks and bonds in turnover, there will simply be no need for an exchange in our country. Because if we will be dealing with individual operations, newspaper ads, such as, "I will sell stocks and/or bonds," will be sufficient.

[Question] This means that there will be a "wildcat" market of stocks and bonds?

[Answer] No, why? I will give you an example. Thus, we call the automobile market that exists in our country—an exchange. However, it has nothing to do with that name. An exchange is a kind of market with strictly defined rules of operation—principles of purchase and sale transactions, and internal organization. Frequently this is only a wholesale market for business agents. Thus, our automobile exchanges are in fact nothing more than bazaars and, therefore, meeting places for buyers looking for a bargain and sellers. For the time being, there is no need to create another organizational form for the automobile market. And it may be presumed that for the time being such a bazaar is sufficient for servicing the stocks and bonds turnover.

[Question] And the bazaar will replace the exchange?

[Answer] Everything depends on the organizational units that will be present on the stocks and bonds market. If there will be several dozen joint stock companies created on the basis of the consolidation of the capital of family members or friends, then it will suffice to ask several friends whether they would like to buy shares. However, if there were to be thousands of joint stock companies, millions of shares, stocks or bonds issued by them, then the matter is no longer simple. The market would have to take on higher organizational forms and perhaps then, units would be created that would act as agents in the turnover and eventually include the exchange as a specifically placed and appropriately organized means of the wholesale turnover of stocks and bonds.

9853/12913

#### **Polish Economic Society Hosts Talk on Foreign Investments**

26000250a Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
25 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] (Own source). In accordance with the government program of implementing the second phase of the economic reform, an amendment of the rules regulating the mode of the functioning of foreign capital in our country is being prepared. How to attract foreign investors? What frightens away foreign firms from economic activity in Poland? These are questions that were asked of the discussion participants which took place on the 24th of this month in Warsaw under the auspices of the Polish Economic Society [PTE].

Director Janusz Kozinski from the Ministry of Economic Cooperation with Foreign Countries [MWGZ] informed that the Council of Ministers Committee for Economic Reform appointed the MWGZ to work out a draft plan for amending the regulations on joint ventures with foreign countries. The Ministry of Domestic Trade, on the other hand, is to develop a draft plan for amending the regulation on foreign small manufacturing enterprises whereas a social project of a standardized law is being developed in the "Polonia" Association that would affect all forms of foreign investment capital activity. These three draft plans will be reviewed at the meeting of the Committee for Economic Reform at the beginning of March.

The purpose of the work on the amendments is to make the conditions of investing in Poland more attractive and to ensure foreign firms advantages no lesser than in other CEMA countries which so far have outpaced us considerably in this field. In the opinion of the discussion participants, this is an indispensable condition but insufficient. It should be taken into account that Poland continues to have the opinion of a country with low payment credibility and, therefore, deters foreign capital.

Attention was called to the fact that joint ventures with foreign countries are treated in the currently binding regulations on par with units of the socialized economy. Such a solution has many merits and drawbacks in the form of, for example, considerable discretionary powers of the authorities with respect to joint ventures. This concerns, among other things, the issue of cadre policy, producer materials, and the drawn out process of agreements between the particular elements of state administration.

The president of the "Interpolcom" Polish-Polonia Chamber, Tadeusz Kaminski, presented the postulate of creating a separate office that would deal with the entire scope of problems associated with the presence of foreign capital in Poland. The current dispersion of powers among several central offices and provincial authorities is not conducive to a uniform policy with regard to foreign investments. He [Tadeusz Kaminski] pointed out that these types of offices operate in other countries.

In summing up the discussion, the chairman of the deliberations, Prof Urszula Plowiec, expressed the hope that the input of the PTE will allow the government to examine more thoroughly the complicated issues associated with foreign investments in Poland.

9853/12913

#### **ROMANIA**

**Economic Achievements in 1987 Discussed**  
27000057 Bucharest *REVISTA ECONOMICA* in  
Romanian 12 Feb 88 pp 3-4

[Article by Dr Dan Popescu: "A New Stage in Intensive Qualitative Development"]

[Text] The communique on implementation of the uniform national plan of economic and social development of the country for 1987 points out the important new achievements of the Romanian people under the leadership of the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, during the second year of the 5-year plan now in progress. At the same time, taking as a basis the findings of the analysis made of the way in which the plan has been implemented during the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan and the resolutions adopted by the National Party Conference to ensure the most efficient possible fulfillment of the plan over the 1986-1990 period, the communique stresses the directions of action and the measures to be taken to assure implementation of the provisions of the plan for this year and the entire 5-year plan period, as well as steadfast application of the resolutions adopted by the 13th Party Congress.

Even a cursory glance at the dynamics of the chief indicators of economic and social development in 1987 reveals the progress made last year in increasing and modernizing the production forces of the country,

strengthening the economic potential of Romania, and on this basis ensuring significant accomplishments in the sphere of improving the material and spiritual welfare of the workers.

In the context of occurrence of increasingly complicated international economic problems, note should be made of the rates of increase in industrial and agricultural production, the volume of foreign trade, and exports in particular, the national income, etc. As an expression of the emphasis placed on intensive growth factors, on consistent promotion of the policy of utilizing material and labor resources to achieve maximum yield, activities in which new values are created have taken the lead in rate of growth of commodity or aggregate output, such as a growth of 5.6 percent for industry as against 4.5 percent, and a growth of 3 percent for agriculture as against 2.3 percent, etc. Also significant in this connection is the relatively low dynamics for investments (0.9 percent) and labor personnel (0.5 percent) in comparison to the much faster growth of production in various sectors. This circumstance is directly reflected by the nearly 5-percent increase in the national income, an area in which are concentrated all the favorable effects of all the actions and measures applied to bring about the greatest possible intensification of economic development.

Scientific research activity, technological development, and the introduction of technical progress are prominent among the factors making fundamental contributions to imparting the characteristics of intensive capital replacement to Romanian industry and economy in 1987 and to consolidating these characteristics. In keeping with the programs adopted, more than 2,850 new and modernized types of machines, plant, and equipment and 1,060 materials and consumer goods were developed last year on the basis of scientific research and technological development and were introduced into production. Application was made in production of 1,775 new and improved technologies and mechanization and automation improvements, especially in chemistry, metallurgy, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, and electronics, as a very significant expression of the progressive upgrading of the output of process industry. On this basis, almost 36 percent of the respective commodity output represents new and upgraded products manufactured during the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan. Scientific research, technological development, and introduction of technical progress have made an especially important contribution to realization of some of the most important priorities in the economic and social development of the country, that is, as regards the efficiency of geological activities, utilization of new and renewable energy sources, implementation of the program for utilization of reusable materials and reconditioning spare parts and assemblies, standardization of product with the aim of creating additional resources with which to increase labor productivity, lowering production costs, improvement in the supply of equipment and materials for production sectors, carrying out the new agrarian revolution, etc.

The year 1987 was for industry one of increase in production capacity as a result of activation of new facilities and of modernization and retooling of a large number of units, and of expansion of energy and raw materials resources. As a result of the increase noted in industrial production, the value of the commodity output generated during the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan is almost twice as high as that of the entire industrial production of the country over the 1951-1965 period.

Considering the requirements of the economy, special attention has been devoted to increase in production in the mining and power engineering sectors of industry. Total coal production last year totalled 51.5 million tons, that of methane gas 25.3 billion cubic meters, and that of electric power 74.1 billion kilowatt-hours. Steadfast application of the measures for harmonious development of all and the districts and localities of the country led to achievement of rates of industrial growth (in this instance, commodity output) which were higher than the average for the country in 19 districts and the city of Bucharest. Noteworthy among these districts were Mehedinti with 14.5 percent, Ialomita 14.2 percent, Calarasi 11.6 percent, Salaj 8.0 percent, Gorj 7.5 percent, Buzau 7.0 percent, Vrancea 6.44 percent, and Satu Mare with 6.2 percent. These growth rates resulted in new changes in position in local increase in production forces ensuring decrease in differences among the levels of economic and social development of individual districts. As is stated in the communique, in view of the growth rates achieved and the appreciable intensification of the pace of qualitative changes in industrial structure, competitive modern Romanian industry is now capable of solving the most complex problems for all sectors of activity.

Even though the best climatic conditions did not prevail in agriculture, good results were achieved on the whole. The highest production of cereal grains in the history of the country was achieved, 31.7 million tons, along with substantial increases in the output of other agricultural products. Mention should also be made of the fact that the average production per hectare for the main crops was higher than that achieved in 1986, and that a large number of state cooperative farm units produced more than 88,000 kilograms per hectare of wheat and barley and more than 20 tons of corn on the cob. The number of heads of livestock was also larger at the end of 1987 than 1986, and at the same time the average yields increased so that higher livestock yields were achieved than in 1986. All these increases permitted delivery of larger amounts to the state reserves than in 1986, in the case both of farm crop and of livestock products.

Another noteworthy fact is that a large volume of land reclamation projects was carried out in agriculture, in accordance with the provisions of the national plan for ensuring dependable and stable production. They were large-system and local irrigation projects covering an area of 400,000 hectares, including 172,000 hectares on

which projects have been completed or are in an advanced stage and are to be activated in the spring of 1988, drainage projects covering 141,700 hectares and soil erosion control projects covering 126,800 hectares, etc. A total of 1,338,300 tons of chemical fertilizers containing nitrogen, phosphorus, and potassium was also delivered to agriculture last year, as were also certain amounts of pest control products. These represent some of the most important preconditions for ongoing increase in agricultural production.

Important advances were made in forestry, where action continued to carry out the tasks set in the national program for conservation and development of forest resources to the year 2010. Forest renewal projects were carried out over an area of 53,200 hectares, and action was taken to extend valuable species 43.5 percent over recently afforested areas. In the area of water resource management, new multipurpose reservoirs holding a volume of 230.77 million cubic meters were placed in service, and projects were carried out for stream bed training along 332.7 kilometers of waterways, along with building of embankments along 196.1 kilometers to provide flood protection for populated areas, economic facilities, and 18,200 hectares of farm land.

We have given an idea of the new scope of development in the chief branches and sectors of the economy. It has been accomplished in the context of continuing improvement in quality and efficiency in the economy and of sustained mobilization of efforts to reduce costs and consumption of materials, these efforts ultimately being reflected in heightening of the potential for the greatest possible increase in the national income. Also of significance in this general context is the fact that labor productivity rose 4.6 percent in 1987 in industry, 3.0 percent in construction and assembly under contract and by use of an organic building organization, and 2 percent in railroad transportation. The total cost per 1000 lei of commodity output in industry nationwide was 0.70 leu lower than in 1986, this resulting in a total saving of 749 million lei.

Closely related to the first aspect is the fact that economic growth last year was based on execution of a broad investment program under which an effort was made to achieve higher efficiency for every leu invested. It is significant that, as is pointed out in the communique, 246.6 billion lei were invested in the national economy in 1987. Fixed capital of a value of more than 225 billion lei was activated, 309 major industrial and livestock raising production facilities, together with ones in other sectors of the economy, being incorporated in the production process. Facilities of national importance were activated, such as the complex of railroad and highway bridges over the Danube, a new section of line 2 of the Bucharest subway, the Dimbovita River development complex, etc. Significantly, efforts in the area of investment have been aimed in particular at activation of facilities which contribute toward increase in raw

materials and energy resources, implementation of production modernization programs, raising the technical and quality level of products, better utilization of raw and intermediate materials resources, and improvement in the competitiveness of Romanian products in foreign markets.

In the light of this last-named aspect, that of improving the competitiveness of Romanian labor, creativity, and knowhow at the world level, it is an impressive fact that foreign trade volume has taken the lead in rate of growth (essentially as a result of increase in exports) among all major macroeconomic indicators, with the significant exception of the value of net output and the national income. There has been further improvement in export structure due to increase in the percentage of goods involving a higher degree of processing, such as machinery and equipment, transportation means, chemical products, and industrial consumer goods, to the level of more than 63 percent of the total export volume. Of particular significance is the fact that, despite the difficulties generated in 1987 by restrictive and discriminatory practices in international economic relations, activities in the area of foreign trade resulted in a surplus trade balance of more than 2.8 billion dollars in terms of convertible currency, this ensuring payment of a substantial portion of the foreign debt.

As is stated in the communique and pointed out by the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the 1987 results could have been better if there had been a spirit of greater responsibility, order, and discipline in all areas of activity. Some failures were due to the severe winter conditions of 1987, but it was not these conditions which led to the bulk of the lags. The failures were due rather to absence of the necessary measures and of responsibility in thorough organization of activities even under difficult conditions. In industry, for example, the shortfalls in petroleum extraction, lignite mining, and coal-based generation of electric power were determined chiefly by the failure to make timely repairs and to carry out the scheduled modernization of equipment and installations and by delays in activation of new facilities. Generally speaking, plan targets were not met in their entirety in industry, largely because of the fact that firm action was not taken to ensure preparation for and regular completion of physical output, especially that intended for export, for meeting facility activation deadlines and attainment of the projected parameters, for introduction and extension, in accordance with the provisions of the plan, of modern technologies involving low consumption of raw and intermediate materials, fuels, and energy, and for rigorous application of financial norms for the sake of meticulous implementation in all units of the measures established by the production organization and modernization programs.

Deficiencies were manifested in agriculture from the viewpoint of devoting the necessary attention in all agricultural units to timely and efficient completion of

land preparation operations and crop planting and maintenance operations, organization of timely and loss-free harvesting, and to proper livestock raising and feeding. Foreign trade was adversely affected both by the unfavorable foreign market situation and by the deficiencies recorded in the activities of some ministries, centrals, and enterprises which failed to ensure timely initiation of manufacture of products for export and the proper technical and quality level of some products, and by the shortcomings manifested in foreign market research and procurement of the planned stocks of commodities under contract.

The efforts applied primarily toward improvement in the qualitative aspect of the Romanian economy have been given concrete expression in significant increase in the national income and improvement in the welfare of the entire people on this basis. The labor force wage fund was 283.8 billion lei in 1987, this representing an increase over 1986. It should be added that at the end of December 1987 worker personnel received more than 2.2 billion lei from the fund for worker sharing in profit for completion of output and in distribution of profit. While the average net nominal wage at the end of 1987 was 3,035 lei, this representing an increase of 0.6 percent, the nominal income of farm workers in terms of money and products per employed person rose 1.9 percent. Particular social benefits also derived from the fact that the price and rate rise index was lower than planned. The funds allocated for social and cultural activities amounted to 116 billion lei.

In connection with this income and purchasing power of workers, the volume of sales by socialist commercial units, more than 291 billion lei, was 2.8 percent higher than in 1986, and the volume of paid public services was nearly 65 billion lei. Significant advances were made in the areas of education, culture, and health care. It is also worth noting that more than 110,000 housing units were made available last year, nearly 16,000 of them in rural communes.

These accomplishments in the social sphere clearly show the fundamental relationship between development and welfare. It lies within the power of the workers in all parts of the country to learn from the experience of 1987 and take firm action with a high sense of responsibility to ensure meeting of the well-founded plan targets set for this year, which embody the objectives and measures themselves of the special programs adopted, by acting promptly, resolutely, and systematically to eliminate any deficiencies and working meticulously to bring about pronounced qualitative and and quantitative improvement in the Romanian economy in 1988. Only thus will it be possible to provide the resources for significant new accomplishments in the plan for material and spiritual welfare.

#### Roundtable on More Efficient Land Use

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[Discussion by Vasile Dragomir, member of the National Council for Uniform Management of Land Reserve; Horia Iliescu, director of the Research Institute for Protection of Plants; Corneliu Rauta, director of the Research Institute for Soil Science and Agrochemistry; Nica Sabin, head of the Department of Agrarian Economics at the N. Balcescu Agronomic Institute; Gheorghe Sin, scientific secretary of the Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences; and Dumitru Teaci, head of the laboratory at the Research Institute for Soil Science and Agrochemistry]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said: "Land represents the most decisive, fundamental factor of agricultural production. It is the possession of the entire people. We must love and care for the land as the most precious possession, which secures the existence and very future of Romania as well as the victory of socialism and communism!"

In keeping with the guidelines set by the 13th RCP Congress and Nicolae Ceausescu, the RCP is consistently promoting a uniform and far-sighted strategy for development and modernization of the production forces and improvement of social and production relations, with special emphasis in the present stage upon intensive growth in all national economic sectors and a better and more effective balance among the various socioeconomic activities. This includes the new agrarian revolution, which has a vital part to play in development and modernization of the economy as a whole. It is a process of great depth and scope, requiring improvement in all agricultural activity as well as radical changes in the peasantry's very way of working, living and thinking and a far greater contribution on the part of socialist agriculture to Romania's general development and to the people's material and cultural well being.

Particular care for the best management of the land reserve, growth of the agricultural area and especially of the arable area, and preservation and improvement of soil fertility are indispensable to intensification and modernization of Romania's agriculture and to consistent implementation of the new agrarian revolution, since the land is the critical production means in agriculture. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, "The land is Romania's most valuable resource and the basic and constant factor for growth of agricultural production, and its efficient use, protection and improvement serve the vital interests of the entire people."

In view of these considerations, ERA SOCIALISTA jointly with the Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences arranged a discussion of the above-mentioned subject. We are publishing an abridged transcription of the discussion in this issue.

Vasile Dragomir: I should like to point out from the start the particular importance of the subject taken up in this discussion. Romania's agriculture is in a vital stage of its development, that of the new agrarian revolution, wherein the country's land and its entire cultivatable area have a critical part to play in the intensive development of agricultural production. The party secretary general has repeatedly pointed out that every effort must be made toward the best possible use and management of the entire land reserve in order to obtain the highest possible yields per hectare.

There are relatively few opportunities to reclaim new lands for cultivation. Therefore an intensive, highly productive agriculture and the most careful use and management of the land that we have so that not one plot remains unworked are the most certain ways to increase the agricultural output in order to better meet the constantly growing needs of the public and the Romanian socialist economy, along with use of the most rational technologies in order to enhance the fertility of the cultivated soils. Regarding that last aspect, I would stress the absolute necessity not only of maintaining an adequate soil fertility in aid of increasingly rich, secure and stable harvests, but particularly of further enhancing that fertility so that the basic source of wealth that the land is will not be exhausted but will become even more fertile in step with the growth of agricultural production.

The main objectives and guidelines for better use of the land reserve are entered in the National Program for Irrigation, Drainage, Control of Soil Erosion, Growth of the Productive Potential of Land, and Rich, Secure and Stable Harvests, drafted and ratified at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion. Pursuant to the provisions of that national program, the 13th Party Congress specified irrigation of an area of 5.5-6 million hectares by 1990, as well as projects for drainage and land improvement on about 2 million hectares, better zoning and organization of the land, improvement of salt marshes and sandy soils, etc. All questions of the most responsible and exacting management of land through use of the findings and recommendations of advanced science and agrotechnology are to be emphasized by all agricultural units and organs, including the Ministry of Agriculture, other ministries and the National Council for Agriculture, the Food Industry, Forestry and Water Management, since the soil is the most important factor critical to all agriculture and to Romania's general socioeconomic development.

Nica Sabin: The new agrarian revolution, which is about to make some radical quantitative and especially qualitative changes in Romanian socialist agriculture, is a comprehensive process covering all aspects of socioeconomic activity in that basic economic sector completely and in a natural linkage. It requires a series of technical, economic, organizational, social and educational efforts on the part of the agricultural production units both in the field of the production forces and socialist production relations and in that of the agricultural workers'

social awareness and thinking. As a primary economic objective in the Romanian national economy's current and long-range development, the new agrarian revolution has a purpose that is well defined and clearly specified by the party and state administrations, namely that of creating a modern, intensive and highly productive agriculture with a high economic effectiveness, converting that sector to a type of industrial activity, and increasing its contribution to development of the national economy, to modernization of Romania's communes and villages, and to the greater good of the whole Romanian people. In summing up the content and aims of this extensive revolutionary process, Nicolae Ceausescu said that it is actually a matter of making some radical reforms in agriculture's production, labor productivity, technical standards and economic effectiveness and in general social activity in Romania's villages as well.

As a basic and primary aim of the new agrarian revolution, growth of agricultural production is to be obtained chiefly by considerably increasing the yields per hectare and, to a lesser extent, by enlarging the cultivated areas. This intensive way of increasing the agricultural outputs could not indicate more clearly the accentuation of the qualitative aspects in Romania's present and future agricultural activity. To that end, full use is to be made of the soil and climatic conditions and the constantly developed and improved material and manpower resources for production, as well as increasingly good use of the economic, organizational and social structure provided by large-scale socialist agriculture and by state and cooperative socialist ownership of the land as the production means, providing for steady growth of agricultural production through application of the new scientific and technological advances, better and better management of the land reserve, and enhancement of the labor productivity, economic effectiveness and yields of that vital socioeconomic sector.

#### **Consolidation and Development of Socialist Ownership Essential to New Agrarian Revolution**

Vasile Dragomir: Consolidation and development of socialist ownership in agriculture, which is indispensable to the new agrarian revolution, are to meet the essential requirements of good management and complete and highly efficient use of the land reserve, the chief agricultural production means. As Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly said, the land is Romania's most precious possession. Therefore, it is the duty of all those who hold, in one way or another, any area of land that can be cultivated to work it and to make proper use of it. But the soil must be well tended and protected if rich harvests are to be obtained, so that intensive use of the whole area of cultivatable land must be based upon maintenance and development of the productive capacity of that priceless national resource. Accordingly, prompt and highly efficient performance of the operations for soil improvement, irrigation, drainage and erosion control specified by the National Program for



Rich, Secure and Stable Harvests is a major requirement for enhancing the productivity of the land as an essential factor for increasing Romania's socialist property and improving the urban and rural workers' welfare.

Gheorghe Sin: The new scientific and technical advances are vital factors for the progress of Romanian socialist agriculture. Since the Ninth Party Congress the role of internal scientific research and technological development has risen to its proper level in Romania, and science is regarded as an effective production force and an instrument playing a critical part in society's all-round development. Nicolae Ceausescu's view that there can be no modern or highly productive and efficient agriculture without advanced science has proved its full value in those years, being brilliantly borne out by the successes of Romanian agriculture, the most important of which were due to maximum use of scientific research results. It may be said that full use of the productive potential of the varieties and hybrids developed by Romanian scientific research in the last period makes it entirely possible to greatly increase Romania's agricultural output and accordingly to accomplish the major aim of the new agrarian revolution. Of course, in addition to growth of the productive potentials of various crops, the other properties are also studied that the cultivated plants must have in order to meet the requirements of a very productive agriculture of high quality. This also applies to investigations of new ways and means of increasing the productive capacity of land, new methods of improving all categories of soils and especially the underproductive ones, efficient systems for organizing the land, and types of crop rotations suited to the soil and climatic conditions in all areas of the country and to the economic requirements as well.

Corneliu Rauta: Soil science studies have made great progress in Romania in the last two decades especially, and their results are the applied-technical basis of the National Program for Irrigation, Drainage, Control of Soil Erosion, Growth of the Productive Potential of Land, and Rich, Secure and Stable Harvests, a program of unprecedented extent and scope developed and applied at Nicolae Ceausescu's suggestion and under his direct guidance. As an economic and political action of national importance, a vast undertaking that will transform nature, and one with the most enterprising objectives, the program justifies the conclusion that its implementation will be the most prodigious achievement in Romanian history. The provisions of the program include uniform improvement of the whole national territory through complete implementation of land improvement, irrigation, water management, soil improvement and land organization projects that will make it possible to raise the productive capacity of the land for all use categories and for all holders of agricultural lands, thus providing for full use of the possibilities created by expanded mechanization of agricultural operations, application of fertilizers, and generalized use of the highly productive varieties and hybrids. Implementation of the objectives of this program will permit a

greater intensification and modernization of Romanian socialist agriculture that will secure high and stable yields in all areas of the country regardless of the caprices of climatic conditions and with the most efficient use of all resources of agricultural land.

Dumitru Teaci: As the chief agricultural production means as well as the basis of society's existence and development, the land is actually irreplaceable. Moreover, it is in a very high proportion of the entire national wealth. Therefore, its development and better use are among the vital points in the RCP's policy and among the first requirements of the new agrarian revolution, while the major investments made in them make an important contribution to the progress of the national economy.

Due to the extent and quality of its resources of cultivatable soil in production to its population, Romania is one of the countries with a high population density per square kilometer. The idea that Romania has many rich lands is untrue. Consequently, every square meter of land must be carefully tended and the citizens, especially youth, must be indoctrinated with an advanced attitude toward the land and fully aware of its vast socioeconomic implications. Accordingly, it is a vital consideration of concern not only to planning, production and scientific research but especially, I would say, to people's education and their way of thinking.

Corneliu Rauta: Because of its unqualified participation in everything that means life, food and work, the land is not only the production means in agriculture and forestry but also an important material support of all activities. Of course, its role differs from one economic activity to another, and there are clear distinctions between industry and agriculture. In the latter sector the land is an active factor, serving as both the object and the means of labor. As the object of labor, it is processed to obtain the most favorable conditions for raising and developing the plants and accordingly for increasing its fertility. By processing the land, man makes it the means of labor because he works by means of it to obtain agricultural food products and raw materials for the processing industry. The land's twofold role in agriculture as both the means and the object of labor makes it the chief and controlling factor in those sectors.

In that capacity, the land has some characteristics that distinguish it from the other production means. In the first place, bear in mind that the land has a limited area that cannot be increased as needed. We have 23.75 million hectares within the national borders, of which over 15 million hectares are now agricultural, and over 10 million hectares of that are arable (0.67 hectares of agricultural land per capita, including 0.44 hectares of arable land). The only possible way to enlarge the agricultural area is to make full use of the land reserves that are still used insufficiently or not at all in agricultural or forestry production.



Land is also distinctive in that it cannot be replaced by anything else in the agricultural production process. For the time being there is no alternative to the soil as the material support of mass cultivation of plants, so that any agriculture without land and, in general, food production without land is inconceivable at present.

As contrasted with the energy-bearing raw materials (coal, petroleum, methane gas), agricultural soil is not exhausted if it is properly treated. On the contrary, its quality can be improved. In other words, the processes of soil deterioration through leaching or wind erosion can be greatly retarded, and its fertility can be enhanced by certain operations.

The points in the RCP's agrarian policy of using, protecting and improving the entire land reserve are based on the distinctive features of the soil as the chief agricultural production means.

Vasile Dragomir: Complete, rational and efficient use of land is not an occasional problem but a permanent and vitally important one for all countries today but especially for those with limited land resources and growing populations, because agriculture as the basic economic sector determines all socioeconomic development.

Corneliu Rauta: In the last three decades Romania's agricultural area has been increased by 1.3 million hectares and its arable area by 650,000 hectares. But in the meantime its per capita arable area has decreased, due mainly to population growth but also to withdrawal of lands from agricultural use because of needs of the national economy. In view of this evolution, the party and state administrations realize that in proportion to the population the arable area is relatively small in comparison with the situations in other countries. At present 98 percent of the potential area of agricultural soil is in use, and the only way to reach the goals set in agriculture is to increase its outputs and yields. Soil fertility must be enhanced as an aid to increasingly high and stable outputs.

Nica Sabin: Indeed the purpose of all efforts toward management and complete and rational use of the land reserve is to increase productivity per unit of area for purposes of economic growth and development in agriculture.

I think there are two aspects to soil improvement for purposes of increasing its fertility, including its economic productivity. First, it is a question of increasing the absolute fertility of land, which is measured in kg of yield per unit of area, and second, its absolute fertility also needs to be increased, which is evaluated according to the total outlays in proportion to the value of the yield obtained from the soil in question. In Romania it is by no means unimportant at what costs a given agricultural output is obtained, and not only agricultural but also in any other field. I accordingly believe that any high soil

fertility must always be correlated with further reduction of production costs, because that is the only way to succeed in increasing the socioeconomic effectiveness of the activities in that sector.

Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly said that it is not enough to obtain a given output. It is also necessary to allow for the material and financial outlays and the manpower with which it is obtained, and its profitability. As in any other field, the output obtained in agriculture must provide not only for recovery of the outlays but also for a certain profit that will permit further and higher development of economic activity and improvement, on that basis, of the entire people's standard of living and civilization. Accordingly I think it might be appropriate, in awarding the title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution, to consider both the volume of the obtained yields of wheat, barley, etc., and their costs, or with what outlays they were obtained.

Horia Iliescu: Rational land management and continuous improvement of soil fertility require a correlated treatment not only of the economic and technological problems but also of the ecological ones. The ecological implications of correct use of soil resources are very far-reaching. Therefore, I would mention the aspects of occasional abuse of large quantities of fertilizers, pesticides, etc., that may not only reduce the harvests but also impair their quality, while also causing pollutions in addition to the wasted outlays. That is why the RCP has started a whole series of specific measures to control pollution in promoting a policy of consistent environmental protection under conditions of rapid economic growth, thus eliminating the use of permanent organic-chlorinated pesticides and replacing some toxic ones. Moreover, many technologies have been modified to prevent the residual effect of certain herbicides used on various crops, eliminating many losses and permitting high-quality harvests. In general, rational control of diseases, pests in the soil and weeds requires emphasis upon combination of various methods, preferably biological ones, instead of exclusive use of chemical products.

Gheorghe Sin: The technologies applied to crops can affect the evolution of soil fertility favorably or unfavorably. Therefore the effect of every agrotechnical factor upon the properties of the soil must be determined, while in developing the various technologies for raising the plants consideration must be given not only to the elements directly contributing to increased production but also to those that preserve and enhance the fertility of the land and play a critical part in securing an ever greater volume of future harvests. Excessive tillage of the soil, due either to ignorance or to the need of repeating some operations in order to correct their unsatisfactory quality, impairs the stability of the water in the soil structure, causing deterioration of the aerohydric system in the soil and favoring formation of the crust that is so harmful to the sprouting of the plants. Compaction of

the soil, with its consequently greater resistance to plowing, and deterioration of its structure are processes caused and aggravated by man through irrational tillage. Therefore all agricultural experts and machine operators should strictly observe the agrotechnical rules for plowing, preparing the seedbed and, in general, any tillage of the soil as specified as a matter of fact by the Law on Land. I think sustained efforts are needed to induce all agricultural workers to pay the closest attention to proper management of the soil and preservation of its valuable properties.

Obtaining the greatest possible harvests while maintaining soil fertility at a high level requires differentiation of agrotechnology from one field to another on the basis of thorough knowledge of the condition of the land and the possibilities of effective use of its productive potential so as not only to preserve its fertility but also to enhance it. The research work has produced a number of technological measures for good management of the soil, which pertain to its basic tillage, preparation of the seedbed, sowing, fertilizing, rational use of irrigation water, etc. All of these technological measures should be adopted promptly and applied by the production units because that is the only way to recover the investments made in the said research and also in developing the productive potential of the soil. Organization of pilot farms in various production units makes it possible to extend the results obtained on the experimental plot over large areas of land. If these efforts are to succeed, the research specialists must lend detailed technical aid and the agricultural production cooperatives' use of the soil resources must be scientifically organized.

Corneliu Rauta: As it has been said in our discussion, Romania's area of agricultural land is limited, but as contrasted with other natural resources, the land is not being exhausted and furthermore its productive qualities can be improved by rational management. Ultimately this improvement is equivalent to increasing the area. In other words, what is quantitatively impossible can be obtained qualitatively. What Romania has accomplished in this respect in the years of socialism and especially since the Ninth Party Congress is particularly striking. By bringing unproductive lands into agricultural production, especially through the great land-improvement projects on the Danube Meadow, 95-98 percent of the potentially arable lands have been reclaimed, and the productive capacity of large areas of land has been increased, so that the area of Class I soils was increased from 2.98 to 17.5 percent in the case of agricultural soils and from 3.8 to 26 percent in the case of arable soils in the 1950-1986 period by means of water-management and agricultural soil-improvement projects. This has helped to further increase agricultural production, which reached its highest level in Romanian history in 1986.

Dumitru Teaci: The actual possibilities of increasing the area of agricultural lands need to be clearly explained. As we know the process of increasing the areas for agricultural uses has been going on for many centuries. In the

course of it no few forests around the mountains have been cut down, greatly reducing the forest reserve through intensive clearing and fallowing. Consequently increasing the arable area now usually involves less fertile lands whose productive potential has to be constantly enhanced.

Nica Sabin: In the present stage and especially in the future the agricultural soils must be expanded not at the expense of the forest reserve but primarily by bringing the less fertile lands into agricultural production as well as those that are still not managed rationally enough. I am referring to the rural planning programs and reconsideration of the network of roads, highways, etc., on the basis of the most efficient organization of the communication lines, restriction of the area occupied by them, etc. The Law on Preservation, Protection and Development of Forests, Their Rational Economic Exploitation and Maintenance of the Ecological Balance, recently ratified by the Grand National Assembly, enacts essential regulations on this subject that are based on the vital principle that protection and improvement of fertility of the soil must begin with protection and good management of the forest, because that natural ecosystem is critical to hydrologic and climatic regulation and to prevention and control of erosion of the soil, slopes, etc., and it accordingly has a powerful ecologic effect.

Vasile Dragomir: Agricultural land is to be expanded by reclaiming marshy, sandy, flooded and other soils and draining flood plains, but in the light of the lessons of past experience. In the past some projects of the kind that were based on unsatisfactory plans impaired the quality of the soils and disturbed the hydrologic system and the ecologic balance in the respective areas. Somewhat similar points also came up in the complete exploitation of the Danube Delta. There the chief problem in securing conditions favorable to agriculture and to other activities as well is to strike and maintain an optimal proportion among dry land, water and forests. Extensive operations are now under way for complete reclamation of Pardina, with an area of 23,000 hectares, and other areas of the Danube Delta. It is the duty of those responsible for the planning and performance of these extensive operations to pay due attention not only to the agricultural factor but also (as specified in the Program for Improvement of the Delta, based on the party administration's directions) to maintenance and formation of forest belts, grouping of forests, and improvement of water holes, so that man's intervention will not upset the natural balances.

Dumitru Teaci: It may be said that land does not become totally unproductive unless it is covered with rocks, constructions or any other material that prevents photosynthesis. Under natural conditions the soil produces a certain amount of vegetation anyway, but it may vary greatly with the soil's fertility. Consequently the problems in reclaiming new lands for agricultural production is, in the first place, to consider all the lands that can be

reclaimed, such as unused roads, space alongside railroads, lands left from better town planning, etc. In the second place, since the land is not in a single category and each land has its own characteristics and a particular evolution and traditions, those must be thoroughly studied in order to determine what and how much the soil can produce and on what terms, that is at what material and labor outlays, etc. And in the third place, knowing all that, including the cost of reclaiming the land in question for agricultural production, it is also necessary to determine just how much it can produce as well as what the obligations are of those to whom it is given to use. Of course it is a vital obligation to work it so that it will produce to its actual capacity.

Gheorghe Sin: In addition to a series of general measures to protect and improve the soil, I think rational land management should include man's daily action upon the land through the technology for raising the plants, including determination of the crop structure, tillage of the soil, the methods of sowing, fertilizing, irrigating, etc. Correcting the crop structure according to the ecological and farming conditions can help to improve soil fertility. For instance, the presence, in certain proportions, of perennial fodder plants and legumes in general on soils with low fertility and on irrigated soils as well is particularly important for improving their productive potential. The results of the research network of the Fundulea Research Institute for Grains and Technical Crops show quantitative and qualitative gains in humus content, a greater capacity for storing water in the soil, and improvement of the soil structure in many respects. And finally, all of these permit harvest increases by 10-15 percent. Moreover, organization and observance of crop rotations properly planned according to the particular soil and climatic conditions of the agricultural unit and its economic tasks are among the most effective measures for improving and preserving soil fertility and for obtaining increasingly high yields in step with general technical progress.

The Ministry of Agriculture is now undertaking an extensive program to organize the land and to determine some rational crop rotations, but there are still situations where prolonged single-crop agriculture is practiced and crops are allocated at random regardless of the "history" of each field, which should also determine the particular technology. In those situations it is impossible to form or apply any scientific idea of rational use of the soil. Accordingly some more intensive efforts are needed on the part of the agricultural directorates as well as the specialists in the agricultural units toward organization and strict observance of crop rotations.

In general, the highly important tasks assigned Romanian agriculture by the Directives of the 13th RCP Congress call for expanded cultivation of the best varieties and hybrids, complete observance of the specifications of the technologies for tilling the soil, sowing (with observance of the optimal densities of the plants) and

fertilizing, proper maintenance of the crops, prevention and control of weeds, diseases and pests, provision for water requirements of the plants, timely harvesting without losses, etc.

I also think a more consistent effort is required to make more efficient use of irrigation to obtain above-plan harvests on the basis of the potential for supplying the water needed for the crops in the optimal periods and quantities and with less dependence on the meteorological factors. All elements involved must realize that the Romanian socialist state's huge investments in construction of extensive irrigation systems cannot be really effective without commensurate gains in agricultural production, just as in the case of the general programs for drainage and erosion control.

Corneliu Rauta: The RCP's strategy for increasing agricultural production is aimed at both an expanded area of cultivated soils, or an extensive development, and an intensive agriculture that will produce increasingly high and stable yields regardless of climatic conditions.

It is urgently necessary to keep increasing soil fertility while obtaining ever greater harvests, as the new agrarian revolution requires. But while that is clear theoretically, it is not clear from the practical standpoint, because there is not only the so-called natural fertility, namely that created in the same way the soil evolved and providing unquestionable advantages to those who cultivate it, but also the concept of "artificial fertility," namely that provided by man and constituting, together with the natural one, the "potential fertility" of land. Consideration is also given to the concept of "effective fertility," which is based upon "potential fertility" and actually means the productivity or effectiveness with which the agricultural land is cultivated. To which of those kinds of fertility must priority be given? The question is by no means a simple one, because we are looking at extremely diverse phenomena. For example, in Olt County, which has a somewhat lower potential soil fertility than other counties, a high effective fertility was obtained in the same way the land was cultivated, by using highly productive hybrids, properly applied fertilizers, irrigation, suitable technologies, etc. In that way a greater bread grain harvest was obtained than in Calarasi County, for example, which has soils with a higher potential fertility.

Studies made by the Pedological and Agrochemical Research Institute actually show a steady gain in soil fertility in a number of agricultural units, that is an expanded reproduction of fertility, while in others there is only a simple reproduction of it. Some units, however, do not even show a simple reproduction of fertility.

Greater potential fertility of all agricultural soil is a primary and critical requirement for an intensive agriculture and the new agrarian revolution. Moreover, the National Land Improvement Program expressly specifies application of soil improvers and manure, rational

use of chemicals so as to prevent pollution, etc. Those provisions meet some real requirements. Indeed the technological element affects the fertility of land intensively, and sometimes the soil is overtaxed by technologies. I think there should be a plan indicator to express growth, over time, of the potential fertility of the agricultural lands. That calls for radical changes in people's attitude and better and better understanding of the fact that Romanian agriculture is not supposed to "exploit the soil" but to manage it rationally. Both production and scientific research and planning have vital tasks to accomplish in that respect.

Horia Iliescu: It is quite rightly said that the soil is "a living body" wherein a vast number of microorganisms, insects, acarids, nematodes, etc., develop. Moreover, soil fertility itself depends to a great extent upon the biologic activity of those organisms, many of which, however, are harmful to the crops. Unless the basic characteristics of the soil are allowed for and the most suitable technologies are used, a growing number of diseases and pests may appear and the respective land begins to produce less and less. It is only by using the right technology, wherein the correct crop rotation plays an important part, that such bad effects can be avoided.

From both the ecologic and economic viewpoints the most rational solution is complete protection of the crops against harmful organisms in the soil by combining the agrotechnical methods with the chemical, physical and biologic ones and applying them only when they are economically and ecologically justified. That considerably lessens the "load of chemicals" per hectare, and sometimes they can be reduced by 50 percent or even more compared with the purely chemical treatments. For a number of diseases of wheat, sunflowers, potatoes, etc., crop rotation alone obviates or limits chemical treatments, so that a number of biologic processes in the soil are less disturbed and its fertility is maintained at a high level.

Moreover, the modern technologies call for application of large quantities of pesticides in the soil or on the plants (but ultimately in the soil too). Depending on the extent of their biologic effect and the number of treatments, the quantity of the pesticides varies greatly from one crop to another, amounting to tens of kg of active substance per hectare in the case of intensively treated crops. Is that much or little? Our institute's studies indicate that it is enough to be effective. But from the ecological viewpoint of the effect upon biologic processes in the soil and the resulting risks, I think it can be considered much. I accordingly believe it would be appropriate for the Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences to determine the maximum permissible load of pesticides per hectare for each type of soil and each crop, permissible in the sense that there are no pesticide residues in the yields beyond the permissible limits and that they are not carried over from one year to

the next as the soil fertility is maintained. In this case too integrated pest control through introduction of elements for biologic control can contribute to the optimal solution of the problem.

Corneliu Rauta: In view of some potential risks of soil pollution, I think new general studies must be developed concerning prevention and control of land pollution, determination of the land's resistance to pollution, its capacity for self-purification, etc. Such studies can determine the maximum permissible limits for various pollutants in cultivated lands in proportion to the life in the soil and the quality of the yield and of the environment. Multidisciplinary studies are important here, to determine the internal mechanisms and processes determining and affecting biologic activity in the soil, the biogeochemical cycle of the macro- and micro-elements, accumulation and mineralization of organic matter in the soil, circulation of water, etc.

Dumitru Teaci: Any rational, scientific agricultural system in keeping with the whole series of natural soil and climatic conditions including the physical, chemical and biologic characteristics of the land, includes both the series of local ecological conditions and the soil-improvement measures to secure expanded reproduction of the fertility of the land, that is growth of potential soil fertility through progressive growth of artificial fertility, short of neglecting regular improvement of farming technologies, especially the use of more productive varieties and hybrids in the course of suitable crop rotations, etc.

Corneliu Rauta: It is necessary to develop more intensive studies of the methodologies for the most detailed and precise inventorying of soils, evaluating their productive capacity, and promptly detecting any deteriorations of the quality of the land. Field and laboratory studies are to be made for those purposes with peak technologies and some of the latest scientific and technological advances (long-distance detection, data processing, electronic computing equipment, automation and robotization). In order to determine the evolution of soil quality, it is very important to develop studies to form and improve the pedologic information system and the national system for monitoring soil quality with modern electronic means and long-distance detection.

Determining the parameters of the optimal soil profile in relation both to the soil's role as a factor for stability of the biosphere and to the harvests scheduled for the long and short term is a very urgent problem requiring extensive in-depth studies. To that end studies are to be made concerning quantification of the optimal parameters of the agrophysical, agrochemical, physical-chemical and biologic properties of the various soils, as well as studies to develop methods, ways and means of obtaining and maintaining those parameters, especially by physical and mathematical simulating and modeling by means of electronic computers.

Studies to determine the laws governing relationships in the soil-plant-water-fertilizer system (especially those between formation of the harvest and the properties of the soil as well as the necessary technologies and operations) are vital to quantitative standardization and rationalization of the dosages of fertilizers and water. Improved mathematical models are to be based on such studies, containing "expert" systems used in rationalized management of the processes of fertilizing and irrigating land, thus obtaining both the scheduled harvests and a favorable balance among humus, nutritive elements and biologic activities in the soil, which is essential to maintenance of its capacity to regulate itself and accordingly to function as a stable cybernetic system.

Dumitru Teaci: It goes without saying that the scientific research results and the studies and plans that were made are fundamental to the whole series of water-management and soil-improvement projects in Romania based on the agrarian policy consistently promoted by the RCP and its secretary general and implemented since the Ninth Party Congress through an immense material and financial effort by the state in the form of allocation of a volume of investments exceeding 60 billion lei, in addition to the operations performed by the CAP's. That far-sighted policy made it possible to increase the productive potential of the soils in Romania by an average of 30 percent in the last two decades.

Mention should be made here of the outstanding results obtained in enhancing the soil resources under socialist state and cooperative land ownership, the development of the soil's productive capacity through prevention and control of deterioration, and the increasingly effective use of fertilizers and soil improvers. Studies of the quantitative and qualitative records of the agricultural soils are made on the national and county levels, as well as the maps needed for zoning many crops on the national level. For the most effective use of the data supplied by the system for monitoring soil quality, nomograms and mathematical models have been prepared for forecasting the evolution of the agrochemical properties of the soil, as well as improved methods of analysis, technical-scientific documentation essential to rationalized direction of the types and chemical forms of the fertilizers used, etc.

In view of the foregoing, I believe the results obtained in use of the land reserve as well as the scientific and technical potential that we have enable us to begin a new and qualitatively higher stage in rational management and the most efficient use of agricultural soil. I mean planning and "construction" of cultivatable lands of the highest quality.

After all, man has cultivated plants and domesticated animals since ancient times. Later he began to gradually improve their productive properties and to develop new and better varieties and breeds not found in nature. In the case of land, too, I think we should progress from merely using it as a production means to designing and

creating agricultural soils with optimal, predetermined properties. By working with new resources, we can create new lands. There are soils that can produce 1 ton of bread grains per hectare, but if their properties are changed yields of 8-9 tons can be obtained. I think the transition to designing highly productive lands entirely conforms to the guidelines and provisions for implementing the new agrarian revolution in Romania. Of course this activity must be directed toward finding the best measures for each plot of land. I think soils that have been impaired by various socioeconomic activities (worksites, excavations for strip mining operations, lands covered with dump heaps of slag, ashes, etc.) should be the first to be treated in this new way.

Vasile Dragomir: Further growth of land productivity, especially through design of new soils, is a major problem of the present and future of Romanian socialist agriculture. The land is a national possession and therefore protecting and enhancing its fertility should be the concern of all members of Romanian society and the entire nation. After all, every Romanian citizen is responsible, to some extent or in some way, for the way the land is managed.

The need of restoring areas of land affected and even impaired by various nonagricultural economic activities, primarily industrial, to agriculture has been mentioned before. It is a problem of the greatest importance. As we know, Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly criticized the inadequate efforts of some ministries, enterprises and people's councils to prevent occupation of agricultural soils for other purposes or to recover them. There are specific regulations about that. But aside from the carelessness with which the allocations of agricultural and even arable areas are still changed in some cases, it should be noted that not even the said regulations are always strictly observed. I would repeat the example of the coal mines in some counties. For surface extraction of lignite, the stratum of fertile soil should be stripped and used to fertilize other, unproductive or underproductive lands. To be sure supplying the Romanian economy with essential energy resources is a priority objective of critical importance, but in no case can that justify abandoning the area of agricultural land in question. The legislation in force is based on the principle that any withdrawal of agricultural land from agricultural use for other purposes must be compensated for by reclaiming other land of the same quality, the reclamation to be financed out of the fees collected for the purpose from the beneficiary of the investment.

Hence the idea, which I want to stress, that the very policy promoted by the party and state on use and protection of the land reserve establishes the necessity of sustained efforts in that direction not only by the Ministry of Agriculture but also by the other ministries, by the people's councils, and in general by all elements in the economic field, in terms of a uniform overall viewpoint and well-correlated actions on the county level and on that of the whole country as well. While matters are

clear in theory and there are appropriate regulations as we know, sometimes indifferent and perfunctory attitudes, indolent selection of measures, and stalling in the performance of the necessary operations are still to be found in practice. Since the land is the nation's most precious possession, as it has been repeatedly said, I think all elements who are responsible, on the central or local level, for the way the national land reserve is used and protected must take a more firm and intolerant stand against any violations or tendencies to disregard the legal provisions on this subject.

Corneliu Rauta: In view of the importance as well as the far-reaching implications of these problems, I think they should be scrutinized further. I accordingly feel that the fees specified for financing improvements of lands in compensation for the agricultural land converted to other uses, namely the fees collected by the Ministry of Agriculture, are inadequate. Therefore I think the estimated rates set for land withdrawn from agricultural use should be better correlated with the costs of appropriate improvement of other areas of land.

The question also arises whether an area of land with some of the most fertile soils (chernozem) can be correctly rated at the same value as an equal area of land in an inferior category. Clearly not. Accordingly there are questions like this that should be more thoroughly studied by the subject bodies for purposes of better correlation of the quality of the lands under consideration, including making the investor responsible for financing improvement of an equal area of land and converting it to agricultural use, so that the investment project will not be considered completed until those operations are finished. That would be a definite way to procure and develop the land needed by Romanian agriculture and the national economy as a whole.

To the same point, I think the system for monitoring the quality of the above-mentioned soils, a system created and used in Romania that has unquestionably proved its usefulness, should be more efficient. I believe that could be accomplished by requiring all those who are farming land to test the quality of the soil they are using at the end of every production cycle and to remedy any deficiencies it shows in certain nutritive substances. That is the only way to secure expanded reproduction of soil fertility, which is an essential requirement that must be more strictly regulated. I am stressing that point because it has been found that the agrochemical soil analyses to determine the composition of land and its real needs for certain substances are not always regularly made in agricultural practice. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, we must create a scientific agriculture and that requires the best possible knowledge of the soil's requirements and application of appropriate measures and operations so that it can produce maximal yields.

Dumitru Teaci: Constant checking of the quality of agricultural land and maintenance and improvement of its fertility are major considerations. I also want to say

that with our present means we are quite capable of reconstructing soils impaired by their temporary withdrawal from agricultural use for other socioeconomic purposes. For example, lands impaired by coal mining, which were mentioned before, as well as other degraded soils can be "reconstructed" by procuring lands just a few grades higher than the original ones. But that certainly does not mean that there can be any indulgence of, to say nothing of indifference to, deterioration of agricultural soil however insignificant it may appear. The land has a high economic and social value and must be treated accordingly and not as if it were no one's.

Moreover,, the tendency to leave certain areas of land uncultivated must be very firmly opposed. Nicolae Ceausescu has pointed out that some counties and units do not cultivate 10-15 percent of their agricultural land every year. He has heavily emphasized the need of changing this attitude toward the land. It is vital for all of the nation's agricultural land to produce, and that requires tending and working it properly. The land is the entire nation's property and it must produce because the people's welfare depends on it. No one has the right not to plant or to neglect proper tillage of the land he is using. Complete order and discipline must be established in that field.

Nica Sabin: Some economists in the past advanced the theory that land, being a gift of nature, has only a use value. To some extent, this view of the land brought about the withdrawal of large areas of land, sometimes among the most fertile, from agricultural use. Such practices were stopped to a great extent after the Ninth Party Congress, and it was established that land is a product of labor and has a value. Law No 59 of 1974 clearly states that land has a value and a price and accordingly penalized withdrawal of any land from agricultural production.

Dumitru Teaci: I think an awareness of responsibility for protecting the quality of land must be formed and developed. We must foster respect for the land on the part of all citizens and develop mass public opinion to that effect. Of course those attitudes and convictions must be based on a realist and thorough understanding of the problems concerning Romania's agricultural soils today. While that is a professional obligation of the personnel and specialists actually working in agriculture, knowledge of such problems on the part of the workers and managers in the other economic sectors is certainly no less important, because they actually affect, more or less directly, the soil resources and their quality throughout their activity. Experience shows that when the intensive character of agriculture is accentuated, man's effect upon the land increases proportionally and man becomes the controlling factor in that respect.

Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly said on this subject that implementation of the new agrarian revolution also requires a revolution in the thinking and awareness of all

workers in that sector of material production. Educational efforts to bring about such a revolution must include broadening the political, ideological, cultural, scientific and civic horizons of the agricultural workers and the entire peasantry for purposes of better order and discipline at work and of active, purposeful participation in protection of the land and of the agricultural units' whole public property.

Corneliu Rauta: There is no doubt that adequate occupational training and awareness of responsibility for work well done are essential for any worker in agriculture or, in fact, in any other economic sector, from the farm worker to the laboratory researcher.

I want to mention here our specialists in soil science, most of whom are doing good jobs. In general they have a good training as agricultural experts, horticulturists, geographers, etc., reinforced by good experience in soil science. But I think there are some defects in the future agricultural experts' training due to the limited number of hours spent on theoretical and practical knowledge of land. The National Program for Exploitation of the Land Reserve stipulates that the whole series of irrigation, drainage, erosion-control and soil-improvement projects is to be based on general studies and research in soil science, agrochemistry, and appraising agricultural lands, which can be done only by pedologists, that is specialists with a wealth of knowledge of soil. This accordingly requires intensive involvement of the profession of pedologist in all agricultural activities, especially by organizing some forms of secondary and higher pedologic education, because in world opinion today the future agricultural expert will have to be a good pedologist, a finished expert on soil.

Nica Sabin: It is well known that throughout the country there are soils that vary greatly in natural fertility. Therefore the economic productivity of the land, a factor essential to progress in agriculture, is enhanced at production costs differing from one category of soil to another and from one agricultural zone to another. A unit of increased production obtained on podzol will always require heavier outlays than one obtained on chernozem. Accordingly I think agricultural units in areas with lands differing in natural fertility should be differentiated in setting production prices, payment rates, taxes and other economic levers used by the Romanian socialist state for its economic policy of encouraging the agricultural producers. I think it would also be necessary to allow for the differential return, which operates in Romanian socialist society too, in order to encourage the agricultural producer units on an equitable basis, according to the very different actual conditions under which they operate.

Regarding the series of actions to make rational use of the land, I think it would be necessary to shift from a single purpose of those actions (namely the level of

productivity obtained) to a multiple one whereby evaluation of productivity is supplemented by consideration of output quality, unit cost, and the economic effectiveness and profitability of production. Moreover, if productivity per hectare is used as a criterion for evaluating the use of the land, I think the STAS agricultural output should be considered and not the gross physical output, because the STAS output is the only bearer of cash incomes. I believe that under the present conditions of application of the new economic-financial mechanism based on economic self-administration and self-financing, use of the STAS physical output as the basic criterion for evaluating productive activity in agriculture as well, and accordingly including use of land, is essential for obtaining and increasing economic effectiveness.

Vasile Dragomir: On the basis of the guidelines set by the RCP under Nicolae Ceausescu's far-sighted leadership, the necessary scientific, technological, organizational and other measures were adopted and implemented so that Romania's agricultural soil will not lose its fertility or productive potential will keep gaining in productivity. But wise as these measures are, they cannot automatically accomplish the tasks assigned in the light of the new agrarian revolution for the highly intensive growth of the agricultural outputs. Those directly involved in the agricultural problems have a critical part to play in this, and they must be fully aware of their heavy responsibility for good management of the land, which is in fact the basis of all activity in this basic sector of the Romanian socialist economy.

The main problem is to considerably enhance soil fertility or, in other words, to provide for its expanded reproduction, because its simple reproduction is not sufficient, as it has been pointed out in our discussion. And since no rich and secure harvests meeting present and future requirements would be possible without that growth rate of soil fertility, the extent of growth of soil fertility should become a leading indicator in planning agricultural development, as it has been said here.

The patriotic duty to forecast and prepare purposefully for the future of Romanian agriculture calls for an overall view of all the very complicated problems of optimal use of the land reserve. More substantial intervention in the soil-plant-water relationship is one of the conspicuous requirements, especially in regard to diversification of farming technologies, down to the level of soil categories and microzones. Only with particular technologies adapted to each type of soil can rich and stable harvests be obtained throughout the country in all soil and climatic zones and microzones.

What could not succeed before and was disregarded in the past, namely concern for the land and its health, is being accomplished today under party leadership by exemplary fulfillment of the demands of the new agrarian revolution, thus securing the nation's future and the bright existence of the generations of tomorrow.

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## POLAND

### Roundtable Focuses on Shortcomings in Health Sectors

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[Roundtable moderated by Elzbieta Misiak: "Don't Count on the Health Care Service"]

[Text] Everyone who has been sick knows that the health care service is a mess. Can't we do something about it?

Oskar Chomicki, physicist, secretary of the Main Board of the Polish Society for Medical Physics; Dr Maria Kazubska, psychiatrist, Dr Jolanta Makowska, sociologist; Agnieszka Wroblewska, journalist; and Dr Teresa Zaleska, cardiologist, have discussed the current situation and whether it can be changed. We also invited two specialist M.D.s to take part in the discussion. They declined to take the floor. They maintained that they see no opportunity for change under the current system in the health care service, and that they feel powerless as doctors. Elzbieta Misiak moderated on behalf of the editorial board and prepared this publication.

[Teresa Zaleska] Let me begin from the conditions under which the contact is made between the doctor and the patient. The patient expects quiet, peace and a measure of privacy in which he can discuss his personal affairs. He wants an exhaustive medical consultation. On his part, the doctor is in a hurry. In a hurry, because he must have two or three part-time jobs due to his very low remuneration for the regular, 8-hour workday. So he signs up for additional work with an ambulance service or extra duty at the hospital. He is almost always either right before or after a shift on duty. On top of that, he should have time to read trade journals and books in order to keep up with the knowledge which in the medical field progresses incredibly fast. Meanwhile, the journals are not to be found, and a medical book costs 2,500 zlotys on the average, whereas a doctor in residence makes less than 12,000 zlotys, and after residency—13,000. If he studies and gets a specialty certificate despite all the difficulties and lack of time, he is rewarded with an extra 1,500 zlotys.

[Editor] From what you have told is, it follows that we would need twice as many doctors if we were to raise wages so that every doctor could hold one job only. Is that so?

[Teresa Zaleska] Not quite. Doctors do not work very productively. In a clinic, the so-called general practitioner has only a stethoscope and a blood pressure device at his disposal. Nowadays, this means that he has nothing; so he refers the patient to the specialty doctor. That one also has a stethoscope and a blood pressure device. Very

few specialty offices are adequately equipped. For example, a gastrointestinal medicine office cannot do gastro-fiberoscopy or other necessary diagnostic tests. Therefore, the patients are shuffled around various offices and finally get a referral to the hospital. Over there, they wait on tests for many days, occupying hospital beds—the very beds which are in short supply, receive drugs and then leave. Some time later, they return to the hospital, because they cannot get at a pharmacy the drugs prescribed at the hospital and still available there.

[Editor] If we were to calculate it all precisely, i.e., the time lost by the patient, the time contributed fruitlessly by a string of physicians, the cost of hospital stays etc., then it would turn out that for the funds so wasted we could, firstly, equip the clinics adequately, secondly, pay doctors [decent] wages, and, thirdly and finally, produce or import the drugs needed.

[Maria Kazubska] In the field of psychiatry, the situation now is such that patients who would be able to live and work normally if they were regularly taking tranquilizers end up in hospitals for many weeks because these drugs are not available. Psychiatric hospitals are overloaded and overcrowded, and this, in its turn, sets back the therapeutic process. A stay in a crowded hospital is an extra ordeal for the sick, and a genuine tragedy for many of them.

[Editor] ...which could be avoided if somebody bothered to calculate that even the most expensive drug is cheaper than a hospital stay for a patient.

[Maria Kazubska] Drugs are lacking not only because they are expensive. For example, recently lithium production was discontinued because it is ...too cheap. The same is the case with insulin preparation. Lithium is a preventative drug for maniac-depressive psychosis. When a patient does not take it, the disease intensifies.

[Oskar Chomicki] Production of drugs and diagnostic equipment is the responsibility of the chemical and electronic industries. The tradition of antibiotics production in our country goes back the farthest in this part of Europe. Now we are forced to import ampicillin from neighboring countries, because we do not produce it ourselves. There is a shortage of antibiotics. In its turn, the chemical industry says that there are no ingredients because there is no hard currency. The same is true of the electronics industry.

[Agnieszka Wroblewska] You are saying that the electronics industry does not produce diagnostic equipment, which is certainly true. However, in my weekly, PRZEGLAD STATYSTYCZNY, we have reported that diagnostic equipment, often times very expensive and unique, is only used to a small degree, maybe even 30 percent, even when it is in order. The reason? The operator is not in, parts are lacking, there will be no end of trouble if it breaks down, so just let it sit and idle.



[Oskar Chomicki] We import a piece of equipment for \$100,000 and then use it only occasionally, because several dozen thousand zlotys for wages of the personnel are lacking.

[Teresa Zaleska] Or several dollars to purchase a small part which broke down.

[Oskar Chomicki] In the United States, for example, equipment for radiation therapy is not turned off at all, it works nonstop. On the other hand, in our country patients at the Onkology Institute do not receive X-rays in the afternoon, because there is no operator. Therefore, they wait for their turn at the hospital for 3 to 4 months. The disease, unfortunately, does not wait.

[Editor] Equipment is of a Western origin, whereas wages—of an Eastern origin.

[Oskar Chomicki] The prevalent conviction in Poland is that there is a shortage of hospital beds. Certainly, a patient who has to wait in line for a hospital bed for months thinks that there are too few hospital beds. Meanwhile, per 100,000 inhabitants we have considerably more hospital beds than the United States where, on top of that, half the beds beg for patients. However, in our country the average hospital stay is 13 to 14 days, whereas in the U.S.—3 to 4 days. What Dr Zaleska and Dr Kazubska have said suggests that an appreciable share of hospital beds are taken up by patients who could be treated much more cheaply on an outpatient basis if it were not for the shortage of equipment and lack of drugs. Many of the sick should not stay at the hospital at all if only they could get drugs regularly. Besides, the hospitals very often admit old and terminally ill people, who indeed require care and nursing, but not treatment. They account for one-third of all patients at the internal diseases ward.

[Teresa Zaleska] Old people very often ask me not to discharge them from the hospital, because here they are served food, here they do not have to stand in lines, for which they don't have the strength anymore, here they do not have to surrender their ration cards. All over the world, the hospital is a luxury; in our country, it is now the only resort for the sick which is somehow working so far. When the hospitals go down the drain, the health care service will be no more.

[Agnieszka Wroblewska] Since I started my career, I have been constantly hearing and reading about the need to take the pressure off hospitals and to create the necessary conditions for nursing old and terminally ill people. And nothing happens in the matter.

[Oskar Chomicki] Nursing homes are lacking, hospitals are falling apart because repairs are not done—and at the same time maniacal construction of large medical centers costing tens or hundreds of billion zlotys is flourishing. Obviously, this is not based on any cost calculations or common sense.

[Editor] The ones who make the decisions do not have to count money, because it is not theirs. For them, yet another center is their claim to fame and to an order. Has anybody ever received a medal for making repairs?

[Oskar Chomicki] At the same time, positive actions are hampered if not rendered impossible in this bad situation. The hospice in Krakow already has a dozen million zlotys in its account, but for many years has not been able to secure a building where the terminally sick could find shelter. In whose interest is it to interfere with this action of people of good will which is so important socially?

[Jolanta Makowska] You have been talking all the time about the conditions under which the health care service operates. Let us imagine that, by one move of a magic wand, everything changes for the better—the wages, the supply of medical equipment and that of drugs. In that case, would the patients indeed receive the care and help they need? I often wonder whether the consciousness and attitudes of the health care personnel are due exclusively to the hardship of our daily life. Is this the only, or rather one of the many factors disrupting the proper operation of the health care service, and especially the attitude towards patients? To what degree the collapse, or at the very best appreciable decay, of professional ethics of physicians is due to objective factors and to what degree it reflects the general decline in work ethic, the only difference being that it is particularly obvious and dramatic in this sphere? The work ethic has decayed in every occupation—among craftsmen, officials, teachers, etc. due to the conditions under which we live, the disappearance of socialization in the family and in school and socialization “by TV” and “by the line.” If that is the case, how can we expect a physician to make completely different demands on himself and his work and to apply other criteria for self-evaluation than people of other professions performing other functions?

[Maria Kazubska] I am glad you brought up this issue. After all, we cannot forget the ethical aspect while talking about the physicians being overworked, their work being badly organized and inefficient and their pay being very low. The physicians are different from other services and other professions in that they carry the highest individual responsibility—that for human life. Certain actions can be overseen by the team of colleagues; however, situations do happen when one must make a decision himself and rely solely on the assessment of one's conscience and on professional ethics, e.g., situations and actions requiring immediate measures, taking care of an unconscious patient.

[Jolanta Makowska] After all, those who opt for medical school know full well what the conditions of their work are going to be. They cannot justify all their mistakes and shortcomings by objective factors alone. The evil abides beside them, but also inside them. I have an opportunity to observe medical students. They are not yet conditioned or restricted by anything “objective.” However,

their behavior and attitudes often cause me concern and arouse reservations. It is another matter that recruitment to medical schools is not done properly. It is hardly surprising that people who should definitely not be doctors are admitted to medical schools, because admission boards restrict themselves only to going through the results of tests, and nobody even gets to see the candidate for doctor, much less talk to him.

[Teresa Zaleska] Young people pick up from us both our everyday behavior and our attitude to the patients. We shape them. There is a lot of good will in these young people. What we need is to give it a chance to be manifested outwardly.

[Editor] As I see it, Ms. Makowska is saying that it is possible to work better, with more dedication and good will towards the sick under these difficult circumstances. This is certainly true. When we encounter neglect, dishonesty or often times real boorish behavior on the part of a doctor or a nurse, we think to ourselves that he or she could work and behave differently. However, when we take a more general view of the situation, we find out that a mechanism for eliminating poor work, poor doctors and poor nurses is lacking.

[Agnieszka Wroblewska] I believe it is fruitless to sigh and say "if only the people were better." We should create conditions under which poorly performing employees will not be tolerated rather than appeal to human conscience.

As long as we are talking about the health care service alone, it is altogether impossible to say how to break this vicious circle. If we assume that we are straightening this world out in its entirety, then, as I see it, our discussion leads to a straightforward conclusion: the health care service should be based on a healthy economic foundation rather than stand on its sick head.

[Teresa Zaleska] I am a physician, and economics and organization are not my cup of tea. However, common sense suggests to us, doctors, certain improvements. In our group, we had an idea about patients expressing their gratitude in a more useful way than thus far. A person who absolutely wants to pay, even in hard currency, would be able to donate it to the account of the hospital rather than attempt to stuff it into the doctor's pocket—so that we would have several dollars to buy a missing spare part or good and much-needed equipment. It turns out that only the Child Health Center and the Polish Mother Health Center are entitled to have such accounts, and we are not. We cannot implement even the simplest improvement. We wanted to set up cardiological clinics with diagnostic equipment so as to take much of the pressure off the hospitals through outpatient testing and so as the patient would know where he could go and what he would get there. Finally, the patient would not have to stand in line, but would rather make an appointment. We also wanted to set up a commercial group at the hospital, so as to be able to use USG in the

afternoon. To us, this appeared to be a better solution than a cooperative, because it would not be burdened by extra administrative responsibilities. Besides, it would give us a better opportunity to evaluate test results correctly, because the hospital can provide consultations. For the employees, this would be an opportunity to earn extra income, and the equipment would be utilized better. This, however, turned out to be impossible, because a hospital is not a producing enterprise, whereas commercial groups can only be set up at producing enterprises.

[Tereas Zaleska] Yes, the same as cooperatives.

[Oskar Chomicki] As far as "paying," or private, patients are concerned, some small openings in this area do come up. A private ambulance service is already operating in Warsaw.

[Teresa Zaleska] Rendering medical services privately costs 1,800 zlotys, and every subsequent visit—1,500 zlotys. Given the current wage structure, many people just cannot afford it. What is in it for them?

[Editor] Forty some years ago, the state undertook to ensure medical care for me. I was supposed to be worry-free as far as this was concerned. Now it turns out that this care is not there.

[Oskar Chomicki] This care is poor, but it is there; besides, it is free.

[Editor] It is free in the sense of me not paying directly for a hospital stay or a visit to a socialized clinic. But I do pay, as all of us do. For this purpose, 40 percent of our earnings are withheld. The result of it is that I go to the clinic only to get a medical leave certificate, and if I want genuine treatment I go to a physician's cooperative. I am constantly asking myself how much this theoretically free hospital stay really costs me. I am spending a considerable part of my income for health care, but my money in no way improves the state of health care. Therefore, if I have to seek private treatment, why should I make a present to the state in the amount of 40 percent of my wages? In view of this, I would rather get cold cash and take care of my health on my own. I am convinced that many people think the same and that we can set up a mutual insurance arrangement. Maybe we won't be able to afford state-of-the-art equipment—health care the world over is expensive and getting increasingly so—but we can certainly afford hypodermic needles, catheters and rubber gloves, as well as decent health care.

[Jolanta Makowska] I believe that the state would gladly shift the burden of health care to us. Indeed, this organizational chaos is the product of actions by a ministry, and the lack of hospitals, equipment, drugs and cadres is a logical result of the policy of the state towards the health care system. Would it not be convenient to say at this point: "Well, citizens, from this day on you are

taking care of yourselves; show us a good way of going about this," and then rejoice when it does not work out? Can we afford being on our own? Despite what is commonly believed, treatment in the West is not at all expensive, because, with efficient insurance systems, the outlays for medical care are covered by insurance institutions.

[Teresa Zaleska] At issue is permission by the state not only to receive medical care privately, which the state does not forbid, but also to ensure yourself privately. The question is: with whom and at what rates?

[Oskar Chomicki] Before the [Second World] War, there was the Mutual Assurance Society for the Sick. An experienced doctor made 600 to 900 zlotys a month. This system worked very well. However, at that time the problem of expensive equipment did not exist. Simple equipment may be cheap, provided, of course, that it is mass produced. If nothing else, cotton wool and bathroom tissue are the [unfortunate] examples of what happens to mass production in our country. The problem is different where unique equipment is involved; it is simply very expensive. In a country as rich as the United States they are also hesitant about doing expensive diagnostic tests calling for state-of-the-art equipment for all patients. Insurance companies are also wondering whether they should pay, say, \$2,500 for ascertaining whether their client is or is not on the brink of a stroke. Therefore, many complicated problems, one might say, social problems, are associated with the use of the most modern and most expensive equipment. We also import very expensive equipment for selected patients. One wonders how they get "selected."

Be that as it may, there are many things which may be cheap and which we have the technical capability to produce, e.g., X-ray machines and EKG equipment. The

problem is that they will not be available for the money of a private insurance scheme as well if they are physically lacking and simply cannot be had. Therefore, a physician at a private insurance clinic will be able to give his time—half an hour instead of 5 minutes as is the case now, his intelligence and his heart, but he still won't have the equipment.

[Agnieszka Wroblewska] This is the reason why we should think about the entire system in this instance. Given a healthy economy and currency, production of sought-after equipment would also take off. Even now private craftsmen produce many kinds of medical equipment of decent quality. Economics is at the root of everything. The weakness of health service is but a derivative of a weak economic system.

[Editor] However, there are many things in the health care service which can be improved, if only partially, as Mr. Chomicki described, by somehow "squeezing yourselves" into the cracks of the system. Perhaps it would be easiest to carry out small-scale private initiatives.

However, it is necessary to begin reprivatization endeavors with setting up private mutual insurance, knowing full-well that, as it were, all measures will be but a part of what is needed in the absence of a comprehensive and persistent reform of the economy.

[Teresa Zaleska] What will be the result of our discussion?

[Editor] Let us hope that it will be the drop of water which bores the rock.

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